Loyal Martyr VINDICATED.

ashton Of hillowing

TER Mr. Albion's Paper had been thewn bythe Sheriff to those that fit at the Helm, and that it was known there were more Copies of it given abroad, so that it was imposfible to tham or disguise it, it raised in them (as I am informed) very follicitous Apprehensions what Effects it was likely to work in the Minds of all the true Sons of the Church of England, to fee a genuine Member of that Communion, with his laft Breath, admonife his prevaricating Brethren of the enormous Crimes of Perjury and Rebellion, in which they they had of late to deeply plunged themselves; denounce Prophetically to them the Judgments attending their Apostacy, if not timely repented of; profess so stoutly his Allegiance to his much injured and unjuftly Dispossessed Prince; feal our Church's Doctrine of Non-resistance with his dearest Blood, and dye so resignedly, chearfully, nay joyfully, in Testimony of that Christian Principle; could not but be apprehended to our Statists to be the most powerful Motives imaginable, to reclaim those who had been missed by falle Information, or feduced by Interest into a Repentance of their Errors; and to establish the rest in the Loyal Principles to which they had hitherto adbered. Besides, the honest unaffected Reason, which appears in the Account he gives of his Tenets, and Conscientious Proceedings, and the Christian Moderation and fincere Piety, which he observed throughout his whole Paper, Praying heartily for his very Enemies, though unjuftly thirfting after his Blood, (the proper Temper of a dying Martyr,) could not but recommend the Contents of it to the efteem of every indifferent Reader, and even be able to flood, all

fuch as were not resolutely byas'd.

Nor can I blame them for being fo highly concerned, that fuch a Les gacy was left to the Loyal Party. Those politick Men were well aware of the successful Methods by which Christianity was Propagated at first. and that The Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church; and therefore they judged it very Expedient, that some speedy and effectual Means should be taken to stop the prejudicial Effects, which it would otherwise produce. It was then thought the best way to feem to fight and undervalue the Paper, by Printing it themselves, and at the same time to endeavour to baffle and confute it by an Answer going along with it, penned with as much plaufibleness as the Cause could bear a But Truth is not eafily trampled down. His Christian Constancy has made too great an Impression in the Hearts of his Admirers, to permit his Meritorious Sufferings to lie under the Scandal of a Treafonable Guile; and has given Courage to some of the meanest of them to vindicate his Caufe, and Credit, against the wicked Slanders and weak Reafons of this mercenary Writer; though he forefees that if they be difcovered, they can expect no other Reward but the same fatal End. The Holland Lyon has begun to tafte English Blood, and finds it to fweet that it draws on an Appetite of fliedding ftill more.

To fall then to our Reply-

His First Sham (for the whole Piece is a continu'd fardle of facility Stuff) is, That the Paper is none of Mr. Albron's. This, if made good would (they hoped) take off the Authority and Influence of it, as not being the proper Act of the Marry, but of some other of that Party if required therefore his best skill to make this Cremble. Eet us then examine his Arguments: His First Proof is, Because in faint completes with the much Are and Care to be the Work of one, who professes a thought is better to employ his last minutes in Devotion, (p. 8.) What a ridiculation Cavil is this! His list institutes were at the place of Encourton four cavit is this to say in the same of the better to employ in down which the Marry professed his bis God, than hi draking speeches; which if they were Loja, and delivered his Thoughts fully, were likely to be interrupted, and so were accorded probable delighted Success; and therefore he chole rather to deliver what he had to fay in Writing. Now comes this Gentleman, and pretends f if his Words have any Tenour or Sente in them) that he must have composed this Paper of his at bis tast minutes, that is, as the Gallows; which, he fays, he could not do with To much Art and Care, those minutes being taken up beberwife, viz. In Depotion; and therefore (forfooth) the Paper is none of his: As if he had not time enough between his Sentence and the Execution of it to compole a Paper, both larger, and more full of Art and Care (had be minded such Advantages) than tills was: Or, as it good Men, whole Piery enclines them to spend their safe minutes in bely Thoughts, could not in the tiline anteceding ale both their best Are and the to pen a true Account of their Principles, and the Cause for which they San but indeed there is little Art or Care in the Marter, or Ser Paper, but a plain and candid Difcovery of his Thoughts and Affections both towards God, and the World; and as for the manner of Writing it (if it were indeed such as this Man exhibits it) there was neither any the least Art or Care shewn in it, but perfect Negligence, or rather great Ignorance and Folly throughout the whole, as will be

feen shortly.

His Second Reason to prove the Paper was not the Martyr's, is, Bccause Mr. Ashton, says he, was illiterate and unskilled in the Law, and yet uses such Bug-words, as Impending, Prevaricating, Premises, and Consequence; and gives such a peremptory Judgment about the Laws of the Realm, in a Caje acknowledged by all ingenious Men of his own Party to have a great deal of difficulty in it; this Man will fay any thing, though never so openly falle: Not one Min of his Party ever thought there was the least difficulty in this, That it was Treason by our Laws to refift a legal Prince, or acknowledge any other for King while be lives. No not this Writer himself, as appears by his not thinking it his best play to alledge the Laws of the Realm, but flying off and recurring to the Law of Nations: And as for the Law as it relates to his own Case, he was far from Peremptory, as is manifest from his saying-I am sold I am the First Man that ever was condemned for High Treason upon bare Presumption or Suspicion: Do not these Words [I am told] found as modestly as is possible, and bar all shew of his passing such a peremptory Judgment about the Laws of the Realm, as he puts upon him p. 8? What will not this Caviller lay? But 'tis pleasant to observe what Prancks he uses all along. 'Tis plain Mr. Ashton meant no more but that he was illiterate (that is unlearned) and unskilful in the Law, as appears by his defiring the Judges to observe for him what might be for his Advantage. And fure a Man who has not made the Law bis Study, (for the Word reaches no farther,) may have Learning enough to ule those Four ordinary Words, none of them being artificial Law Terms; but such honest English as every Gentleman, that converses with Persons above the lowest Rank, is capable of understanding and But this candid Gentleman feeing his Caufe could not be maintained but by Tricks, (for this whole turn of Government was nothing but a Trick of Policy, disjoyns by his Discourse [illiserate] from [tinskilld in the Law] and refers the Four cramp Words to the former, and his passing a peremptory Judgment about our Laws to the latter; and when he has done, he tells us very fadly, one may justly wonder as it; and indeed it is very wonderful: For to play fo many jugling Tricks in fo little room, wrefting almost every Word 'till he has made it crooked; and then gracing every Flam he gives us with fuch a demure Hypocrifie, is altogether Monstrous.

He tells us, p. 9. That the Loyal Martyr defign'd two Things. To affere bis Principles, and to refissive bis Innocency; and he fets himself to prove that he did neutber. As for the former, he grants that by the Faith of the Church of England Mr. Ashton meant the Dostrine of Passive Obedience; and then confutes him most learnedly, by telling us, That he suffered not for Passive Obedience but for mans of it, and that had he regulated him Lise by this Principle he had preserved it. Did ever any Man's Reason turn tail so aukwardly? The constant Doctrine of the Church of England was Passive Obedience to a lawful King; and he

is the lawful King according to the Conflitution of our Givernment who has Title to it by immediate Successim. Now comes this acute Gentleman, and pretends, without Shame or Wit, that the Doctrine of the Courch of England is not Paffire Obedience to the legal King whom all the World did ever acknowledge for fuch, in their clear, unbras'd, and man mous Thoughes, but to another, who has disposses this legal King of his Kingdom, and whose Title is quite annulled by our English Laws, nor own'd by any but some of those who got their Advantages in doing fo, or who dare not do otherwife. And then after he had prevaricated thus eg egionfly, he tells us very gravely, That certainly there must be some great mistakes about the Doctrines and Principles of our Church: Whereas if there be any 'tis manifeftly on by fide ; but to fay the plain Truth, there is no miftake at all, even on by side, but an open Prevarication, and a wilful shuffling and shifting the whole Subject of the Church of England's Tenet, making our Passive Obedience regard not only a wrong but an opposite Object, which is to make the Principles of our Church face about with the Times, and point (as a Weather-cock does to the Wind) to a Dispossession of the true Prince; fo he gets but Power enough to make himself a strong Party, and keep under, or Minther, by his new Laws, and new Judges.

those who dare be Loval.

He pretends that The Doctrines and Principles of our Church are to be found in the Articles and Constitutions of it. If he means that only some of them are found there, it reaches not home to his purpole. But Af he means that All the Doctrines of Faith which our Church holds fre found there, he shews himself to be very weak. Sure he cannot forget that God's written Word, and it only, is our intire and adequate Fale of Fairb; and that the best Interpreter of it for us to follow, is the most unanimous Exposition of it, avow'd by the Dostrine of our Church-men, and the agreeable and constant Practice of our Church, If then he would prove that our Church does not hold Paffive Obedien and Indispensable Allegiance to our lawful King upon our Rule of Faith, that is, does not hold it pare of ber Faith; he should have produced fuch, and so many genuine, grave, and eminent Members of our Church, as are beyond Exception, who have unanimoufly declared themselves to understand the Scripture in an opposite Sense, and upon that ground held the contrary. I except always from that Number Dr. Sher-lock, who is fo flexible a Complier with every fide, that, I fear, he is of no fide, and ready to be of any, as God-Mammon shall inspire him by proposing a good fat Deanry, or some such irresistible Temptation. As for the Practice of our Church giving us light to know her Fairb. it cannot be possibly manifested better than by her Carriage towards King Charles II. in the Protector's days, who had Abdicated twice, (if the leaving England to avoid danger to his Person might be called Abdicating, I and there was another actual supreme Governor who had got all the Power into his Hands, and so was Providentially Settled in Dr. Sherlock's Sense; yet none of the genuine Sons of our Church. flincht from their Allegiance to their King in those happy days, when honest Principles, as yet unantiquated, made our Church shine glorioully even in the midft of Persecution, but all adher'd to their legal

King, though all of them fuffered in their Estates, and many loft their

Lives rather than forego their Duty.

But as our Author told us formerly, that Mr. Aftern died for want of that Passive Obedience which the Church of England holds, so he tells. us here, that he might have believed bimself obliged by bis Religion to look upon his rightful lawful Prince, (whatever his Principles were, or his Practices might be,) as God's Vicegerent, and accountable to God only from mbom he received bis Power: All this (fays he) be might have done, and have been alive fill, because, as he contends, King William was his. rightful lawful Prince. So that it feems let King William be of what Principles he will, even though he were as zealous a Papift as. King Fames; or let his Practices be what they will, even to the Subverting all our Liberties, Properties, nay the most Fundamental Laws of the Land, still we are to believe our felues obliged by our Religion to look upon bim as on God's Vicegerent accountable to God only, and consequently to. obey him as fuch. Which ridiculous Partiality overthrows a good part of his Book, and makes all the Deferters, and first Adherers to the Prince of Orange, and the whole Parliament that fet him up for their King, and the Confers of the Nation, he talks of, to be Irreligious and Wicked. For fince King James was confessedly at that time their rightful lawful King, nor can he be pretended to have worfe Principles and Practices than those mentioned, which comes within the compass of his, [whatever bis Principles are, or his Practices might be,] and this Man confesses that not with standing all this they were obliged by their Religion to submit to him as God's Vicegerent; it follows unavoidably, that we are to believe they violated the Principles of Religion, in the highest Degree, who deserted him, opposed him, turned him out, and set up a Stranger in his stad. Yet this Action of theirs, consest by himself to be Irreligious, is the true Foundation of our new Government.

Hitherto he has begged the whole Question, and supposed the present Governours to be rightful and lawful King and Queen; and now after he has done this, he fets himself to prove it : Certainly this Man's Logick is very extraordinary, If it might be supposed, it needed not to be proved; and if it could be well proved, it needed not have been supposed. Yet this Gentleman, to make this fure Work, will needs do both, though the Method he takes to do this be very preposterous, his special Gift of Reasoning, by a neat Figure called Hysteron Proteron, sets the Cart before the Horle; and first supposes it, and then goes about to prove it: The Question, says he, (p.9.) is not whether rightful lawful Kings are to be obeyed, but who in our Circumstances is our rightful lawful Sovereign? And fo he addresses himself to settle King William's Title, and put it beyoud all dispute, which being so rare a Sight, and so great a Novelty and Curiofity, it may defervedly challenge our best Attention; especially it being withal our real Interest: For I cannot think that any Man of the least degree of Wit, would undergo outward Disquiets, Dangers, and Inconveniences, in not submitting heartily to this present Government, if his Conscience would let him be quiet within: Let us see then what we in Reason and Conscience think of this new Title to what was most.

evidently, by God's and Man's Law too, another Man's Right.

That Party that Rickled to make the Prince of Orange Ring, do hold that the People have the Power to make and unmake the Supreme Magi-Arate; and fo they fix his Title upon the Creation of the People, and make account the same People by virtue of the same Power can limit his Authority, and annihilate it again, as one of them profest openly in the House of Commons: Nay, this was the only Reason and Interest they had, or could have to make him King; for the Commonalty, of whom they pretend to be the best Patrons, were not at all burthened with Taxes under King James; and withall themselves enjoy'd Liberty of Conscience; and, lastly, had more than should have fallen to their share in Places and Offices; And what could they wish more, except the pulling down Monarchy ten Pegs lower, and dwindling it into a Duke of Venice? Which could not be while the legal King governed; but might, they hop'd, be easily brought about when themselves had the making, and confequently the modelling of their new Magistrate: For 'tis but reasonable that they who give and bestow a Thing, should give as much and as little of it as they pleafe. But this Plot was carried too openly, which obliged the House of Lords, fearing their Ruine by a Commonwealth, rather to vote any new King at a venture, than become Slaves to the People: Nor would a precarious Authority fatisfie a Genius, that na-turally aimed at being Abfolute. So when they had given all the Money that they thought could well be raifed, without an extreme Wrong to the common Good of the People, they were packs away; and home they went gnashing their Teeth, that they should be to Silly as to bring themselves into a Noose they could not unite; and which in time might come to hang their Liberty, Property, and (if they should dare to mutter too rudely) their Persons too. Thus that First Title fell, which ferved well enough while the Toung Government was yet in its Swadling-clours, but when it became bigger it our-grow it, as Children do their Cloaths.

After this our Church of England Men, who all this while food Trembling left this new King, being in his Inclination a perfect Presbyrerian, and the Creature of their Adversaries, thould come to over-power them, and trample on them, finding that Things did not cotton well between the ungrateful Sovereign, and these his disgusted Subjects, but that they grew weary of one another, judged it was now their time to firike in: Wherefore they offered him their most humble Service; which being accepted, they laught in their Sleeves at the poor baffled Presbyeerians, telling them after an upbraiding and fcornful Manner, You would needs give is a King whether we would or no; and now we will keep him up whether you will or no. So all this was done, not out of Love to him, (for he has the ill luck to have few Personal Lovers,) but for fear of the oppolice Party, and to fecure themselves against their emulous Competitours, or revenge themselves upon them. If then Title (as it ought) be that which gives and upholds Authority; his best Title after he had now got rid of the hanck the Presbyterians had upon him, next to that of the Confederacy owning him for his Money and Affiftance, (which now begins to knock off) was in reality, The Feud between our Church and Diffenters: Which Two made up a Second and a Tourd Title to prop up by turns this feeble Authority. Money then they voted him, and

(to engratiate themselves by out hidding the others) full thrice as much as the Different bad dones to that the Nation was half begger'd by his Transporting it beyond Sea, to brea Foreign Soldiers, and b the Confederates; and yet though they thus pleatured him by lavishing away the Money and Riobes of the Nation, all the Titlehe could obtain of them unanimously; was to be only King de Facto, and pot de Jure. Which encouraged Dr. Sherlock, who flood watching his Advantage. to face about and build this New and Fourth Title upon the Events of Providence of to uforan Expression less blasphemous and more preper for a Reeling Authority) on the Wheel of Fortune. But the poor Man was to baffled for this new Notion of his, particularly by the Author of the Trimming Cours Divine, and more largely and unantwerably by those two learned and acute Treatifes, Entituled, [The Duty of Allegiance fettled upon its true Grounds, according to Scrippure, Reason, and the Opinion of the Church; and by Dr. Sherlock's Cafe of Allegiance confidered with forms Remarks upon by Vindication; I that 'tis his best play to fit down with filence, and be content to lult his Conscience with his Deanry, without awaking or disquieting it by thinking how to answer them, left it fart up in his Face, and disturb his peaceful and comfortable Enjoyments of his new Acquisitions; for I dare challenge him, particularly in the behalf of the two latter of those three Treatises, that he is so shamefully confinted that he has not one frarting-hole left for his Credit to escape by And yet I must tell him, That unless he answers them fully, he Cheats the Government, and is bound in Conscience to make Restitution of his Deanry; For why should he be so bountifully paid for meaving a Piece, which, when it comes to be well lookt into, is fo full of Bracks. Stains, and Holes, that 'tis useless and good for nothing ?

Thus the Fourth Title of a King de Facto, by the Wheel of Fortune, was laid flat, and the Unsteady Anthority of our new Governours was bandied most miserably from Post to Pillar, and could find no Foundation to fix upon, nor any Basis that would fis it. None had hitherto been to Hardy to offer to maintain by Reason, that they were rightfull and lamfull King and Queen: Yet I am credibly informed that a certain-Gloomy-look't Divine, relying, I suppose, on some mystick Exposition of the Revelation, had preached a Sermon which would infinuate that King William had a Right to England by Conquest; which was formerly ready to be published, but upon the taking of Mons some stop was put to it at that time. If this be as true as it is told me, with much affurance, we English-men have reason to bless God for that Success of the French King, as the most beneficial Event of Providence that has befall'o us this long time; for had that Project been heartily encouraged, our Countrey-men had been all Slaves, and every Farthing in the Nation at the Conquerour's Devotion, it being indeed, in that Cafe, bis own; fo. that when Parliaments would give no more, he might, by fetting up his Title, when he pleased, rake all; and this was the Rifth Title which has

been set on foot.

At length comes this Gentleman, and feeing all the other Titles to be but impertinent Shifes, and not at all likely to take, he will needs strain a Note above Ela, and settle it on a higher Foundation; viz. on the Law of Nations, which allows Independent Governments to right themselves

felves by Force, or by making War on him that injures them: But, bes cause he saw no War was made, no Army fought, nor a Stroke ftrucks fo that none who was not mad with Revelation could dream of a Conquest giving him Right over England; he very politickly twifts with it -- and with the Success of this Just War, (p. 11.) the Confent of the People too. This, I must confess, is a more extraordinary and more refined Notion than any of the other, 'tis made of Contradictions, and is of a Composition altogether Monstrous. We use to instance in Chimeras by a Hireo-cerous (a Goat-Stag) or fome fuch whimfical Conceit, that imports two or more different Natures clapt together. But this new fangled Notion of Right, he has invented, confifts not of merely differene, but oppofice Natures; War and Force fignifie Involuntarines in those they are exercised upon, and Consent fignifies Voluntariness. Again, the Effect of War and Force is to Subdue Refisters, and Confens of the whole Nation fignifies no Refifters at all. So that to come in by Force of War, and at the same time by Confent, is to be beaten voluntarily, to be forced willingly, to refift yieldingly, to submit withall our Hearts, yet against our Will, or whatever Nonsense of this kind this incoherent and felf-divided Notion of Right affords us. But, to fay the Truth, there was neither a fair War, subduing the relisting Nation against their Confent, nor a clear, free, and deliberate Confent of the whole Nation; but (as will shortly appear) a mere Trick, manag'd by an Ambitious Invader, and his Confederates, seconded by a Party of Male contents and Rebellious Deservers, and carried on by a complicated Series of unproved Presences, and Forgeries, to bubble and fool the Common People, and bring us into the Slavery and Beggary we now groan under-

We will put this young new-hatcht Kingly-Title its best Cloaths on, and then see how finely the Royal Robes become it, and how pressily the

Baby will look.

There is besides the Laws of the Land (says he, p. 11.) a Law of Nations, by which Sovereign Independent Governments, when injured, may Right themselves by a Just War. Here were great and violent profumptions of an injury to the Right of Succession, and too great Evidence of a formed Design to subvert the Establishs Religion and Civil Liberties of the Nation, and this War had Success; therefore the Sovereignty was duely transferred, and so there can be no dispute less to whom our Allegiance in due. This is the full substance of the Discourse he had put together, as he told us (p. 10.) to clear this whole Matter. Let us now take it gently to pieces, and lay each part of it down easily, lest it fall assumed to it felt, and shatter into Incoherent Atoms before we come to handle it closely.

'Tis deny'd then, that there were in our Case two Nations, or several Independem Governments. 'Tis deny'd there were great and violent prefumptions of the Injury mentioned. 'Tis deny'd there was too great Evidence of the form'd Design be pretends. 'Tis deny'd the Prince of Orange acquired his Authority by making War, or that he righted himself by Force, or came by the Consent of the People; and therefore since he has no Right either by fair Means, or foul Means, 'tis deny'd he has any Right at all; what he has, how he came by it, or how he still keeps it,

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Sail be declared hereafter.

Profesticular Kingdoms every Man knew before; forthat he needed not have been so large in a Point so universally acknowledged; but it be coming his small Politicks to ampisse mightily, and carry all before him Victoriously in Things which no Man living denies: But to be shore and slight, or rather perfectly silent in those particulars, on which their Decision and the Truth of the whole business depends; we gram hims then that Independent Governments may, when coursed, have a Right to demand, and if it be deny'd them, take SatistaCtion by force of Arms, for its no more than every Man knows, and yields to; but it is deny'd that this comes home to his Purpose, or does his Caule the least fervice. For

Secondly . 'Tis deny'd that there were here Two Independent Gopernments, and to his Discourse falls to the ground. The States of Holland indeed make a Government, but those good Men, who never told lye in their Lives, disclaim'd the Action by their Ambassadors and, like wife Men, left it should not succeed, would not be feen in it, but made use of Free of Whelp to do their own Jobbs, 'till the Six hundred thousand Pound came to be pay'd them, and then indeed they fo far own'd it heartily, and took our Money very reachly; Befides they were Allies to King James, which makes it contrary to the Law of Nations to which he recurrs. And, laftly, if they made this War, and had Succofs in it, (I'am fure the Prince of Orange was not fuch an Independent Governour as tomake it mishous shem,) it would follow by this Difcourfe that They, and not He, sare our Lords and Mafters; a Tide (which the Hollanders do not quest but still affert on due occasions, That their Sence-holder manages England for their behoof, as appears by their care riage in the Mogull's Countrey, where they feiz'd fome of our Merchants Effects, by pretending that England was now under Holland, and that they had fent one of their own Officers to govern it in their flead. As for the Prince of Orange, taken in his own fingle Capacity, he was far from being a Suparate Nation, or Independent Government, which this Gentlemen's Discourse proceeds upon, or indeed Sugrems Governous of any Nation at all, hot of the Principality of Orange; for this was by Dr. Sherleck's Evens of Providence, and by Conquest taken from him long ago: Nor was the Prince of Orange a Sovereign Independent Prince in Holland, for he was there under the Government of the States : Nor was it ever heard there was a Prince of Breda: So that this Gentleman's Discourfe faulters in that which should have been the very subject of it. He should have faid that any great Man who had received Wiong, might in true Reason right himself by the best means that he or his Friends could make against any Man, who was not his Sovereign or fellow Subject, and this by the Law of Reason, or Nature, not by the Law of Nations; For what had the Law of Nations to do in the buffnels, when there was no Nation Intered or that demanded Satisfaction? For furely he will not fay that King James had done Wrong to the Principality of Orange, or that the Person of King William alone, or of his Queen either, is a Nation : Yet one of the two he must fay, to make his Discourse hang together.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly Tid dony'd there were great and violent Prefumptions of an injury to she Righe of Succession : This, if made good, might do his Gaufe some service s let us see then what strong Proofs he brings to evince it. Two forts of Arguments he alledges to prove it. The first is the Prince of Orange's Declaration; certainly this Man is infatuated. Our English Proverb [Ask my Master if I be a Thief] contains as good a Plea as this; yet the poor Man triumphs mightily, and thinks his Work is done when he has barely repeated it. But what fays the Declaration ? Why, it lays, That all the good Subjects of thefe Kingdoms do webemenely fals & that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen, and that many doubted of the Queen's Bigness, and of the Birth of the Child; and yet there was not any one Thing done to fatisfie their Doubts: So fays the Declaration indeed; and if a Man may be believ'd in his own Caufe, (against our own knowledge,) when he might hope to get Three Kingdoms by faying for all is as true as Gofpel, and as clear as Demonstration; otherwise our Reason will, I hope, give us leave to suspect at leaft Mi Information in the Cafe, if not Self-partiality. And I do not like either the Sincerity, or the Care of him that penned it, in faying, And that [All good Subjects vehemently fulpected, &c.] and then dwindling afterwards into Many doubted, &c.). A lober Man would not have quoted the Dechration, unless to detend it ; but this Gentleman builds on it as on his Principle.

But how will he justifie the Declaration when it fave, that not any one thing was done to fatisfie Doubters, or himfelf tor hinting fo impudent-19 (p. 14) That the principal Persons concerned bad not the level Sausfaction given them? Was not the Tellimony of near Fifty fworn Witneffes of Credit, enough to fatishe reasonable Men in a muter of Fatt? No. fays hou (p. 12.) No private Depositions of such as are dependents; or otherwife liable to sulpreson, can in reason be eaken for facisfactory Evidence. Does this Mun confider flow many Brotestants; from many Berfore of unblemith'd Honour hal taints with sufficient of Person and Theofen against the Nution, by Hinting they are for form in atte fring the Bignels of the Queen and the Birth of the Prince of Wales of line hopey Mr. Aftern who had fuch Judges, and fuch Jury-men, as though fatto condemn him without any one Witness, or any one Proof hut merely upon Suppicion or Prefumption; yet fuch multitudes of legal With nesses ares held infufficient to latisfie those of the same Party of the Truth of a matter of Fact fir more evidents Certainly this pretended Scrupulofity of theirs, which is to loofe at fometime; and for their lacid abanother, is morelodged in their Will than in their Reafon: But oh how he bustes, and runs about the Woold to pretend a flaw in this moftrample Attestation! The Old Roman Laws are halled in by Head and Stroulders, (p. 12/) though he knows well they are grapally me where Odlesved; einecially thold he medions; they being indeed for hextras valuant Mideties, that it would look like petiect Madness, nown a days; to offer to being the minto play. Then comes in our Old Common Lant, (polas) Albaing a Wire of Infection, and the Old Law Books groung dreftions to preventiant different Subornation: Now if there were amp Thing done contrary to our Laws, that makes for his purpose. Whys. does

those be, not produce it, and urge it? Especially why tild not the Consention, when they were so repensed pressed to it by the Loyal Party, open about to Descript his intended Subsection? Why did not they to any other, those this contended Subsection? Why did not they to any other, those this contended Subsection? Why did not they to any other, they have been the Loyal Succeeding? This I can afford him that the did not the flowal Succeeding? This I can afford him that dust the Convention have attempted it they should have found, even a close time, very many about they should have found, even a close time, very many about the fallow, they should have found, even a close time, very many about they should have found, even a close time, and Abetics of it. But they were all all then an important frush family be prade to rescribe to the whole World, because it would at once have spoiled the Frince of Orange's Declaration, and have shamed their own Rebellous, Resolution of depoling thing Games could be proceed up another in his lead. A Presence which was so peoplary to be presented and proceed, multimore the Difference of the state of the depoling the same and the proceeding to be a maintest some state of the old A presence which was so peoplary to be presented and proceeding to be a maintest some state of the old A presence which was the proceeding of the old Common Law because the some sound to six substantion as which they seem the proceeding on the proceeding of the old Rowan Laws, substantion of the laws themselves in the places he cites, and from those proceeding the other was themselves in the places he cites, and from those proceeding the other was themselves in the places he cites, and from those proceeding the other was themselves in the places he cites, and from those proceeding the other was all to history of the other was all the history of the other was all the best of the other

His other Proofs, of son injury justifying the War, are a compaying on the last pages? I do there may no resignable Care taken to a particultional groups their superpolar persons and the last to the pamental Persons and the last to the lost to the factors of the pamental Persons are managed with the lost to make the particular of the lost to the particular of the last the mode. Thing was managed with reference that the last the particular of the last of the mode attempts not to make good, nor offers the last of the particular of this secret was fully nor that the Last of Nations, the full impush this secret was fully nor that the Last of Nations, the full impush takenot, gives the lay after any Right or title to the Crown's nor rightly, that there were great and, as he offer whence with lower preferences, or of this pages to the Right of Succession. Whence with National Covernment, on of the spectrum Party, and to be a pinitely theretain eleminates while Maker is as he in the Work, presented a the beginning the whole Maker is as he in the Work, presented the beginning the whole Maker is as he in the Work, presented the beginning the whole Maker is as he in the Work, presented the other beginning the whole Maker is as he in the Work, presented the were unimite in cluthing, no better a Weiler to accept about an better a

Since then this front Champion of our new Government is to mighand the incharge much files. I there and amile to antiver him with more its
nothing the brings gradually more, ver (a thing be no, where the a first fear
nothing Confine.) I warder come to be true. We affirm them. That is
nothing invasion was intended above there quarters of a Year before it was

executed, or more, the French King fending King House word of it half a Kear before: If it was long beth electrical between the Prince of Orange and the Confederates, to dethrone King James, without any Respect to the Prince of Wales, (18 yet blue young Embin, Womtich,) or to the maintaining our Religion or Elberties, or to any of those other frecions Pretences taken up afterwards, but on the Confederales parts at least) merely for fear he might be brought to fide with France, or fland Newigr, and to make the filly Englift fore their Lives, and beggat themselves to maintain the Quarrel of Foreigners: If the main think that encouraged the Confederates to that A dertaking was the Kn wh Harred of the English Men'in general to King Fames Religion, that King's Zeal to make those of his Perfush in is free to the eet of their Fellow Subjects, (which they hop'd would highly dignif very many.) and their Affurance that they had a Factions, Lying, and Difcontented Party here, who would make way for his Bjectment, by giving about and countenancing fuch Stories and Libe's as would encline great part of the Nation to a Revolt? If, among the felt, this Flam of a suppost ritions Prince of Wales, nor oream'th our by any till then, was comed to the Politick Mint at the Hague, fent over into England to be made outrene here by their Party, and then the Diffatisfaction which themselves had raised here was taken up for a Pretencel and interted in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, to give the idle Story a greater Authority, and to glos over such an unnatural and to unfust an Invasion: "If ample Satisfaction was given by the Oaths of Multitudes of Credible and Hbnourable Witnesses, when the Diffatisfaction came to some height a it being highly unwife for a King to humor every idle Report, or honor it with fuch a folenm Examination: If the Queen's Delive y was far from being carried fecrety and fufficiously, cas one of his His hamelowy lines; I but in open Day-light, before a Maintude of People of All forts indifferently, no Perfon of Honor being demed Entrance, who had the Curlofity to be prefent. If the Prince and Prince of Orange who were Two of the Persons chiefly concern d; being absent for off in Holland, and not depied coming over, if they would I thight have fent toine whom they could truit to be pre-ent, or at least had press d their Sifter who was here, and whole lome Concern it was to be enactly curions in a Bulinels to highly importing the in all; and yet mone of them, whough to hugely obliged by their Interest to doe this, did ever make any kindof Means or Applica ion, in order to their to just Satisfaction, which it had been a Madness not to have done, had they indeed had any real Donbt. May more, It (to carry on the politick Sham) the Princes of Denmark, who was the Third Person to nearly concerned, after having avoided with all the Industry maginable to be present at the Queen's rifing and going to Bed, flett the thould be forced to fee what the was look to know, and reforced not to to menefs, viz. the Queen's Pregnancy;) would needs, costrary to the Will of her Father, who express'd some Trouble that the thould then be ablent, because the being fatisfied in the Ening her felf, might be the better able to fatishe Net Relations run out of the way to the Bueb, and to be pli pasely ablent influenthe time the Queen reckoned to be delivered, though the had most pressing reasons of intere to be frere at that time, nor world, without most manifelt ibiuffice.

Afice be denied all the Liberty allowable to one of the fame Sex, both confatisfie her f if and others; though at the fame time it was given out, that the was fent away by her Father, left the should discover the prestended Cheat: Lynone of the Three nearly concerned, nor any other, made the least Scruple, nor pretended the least Diffatisfaction in the World, when the Queen was delivered of other Children formerly, shough not half the number was prefent, untill a Male Child was born, which to their R gret, put them by the Hopes and Expectation of fucbeeding in their turns the Next: If instead of offering any Proof at all, or any one Witness of the contrary, to invalidate or c unterbalance in the least degree this confonant Teltimony of fo many Persons of untainted Monour and Sincerity; this Farce, to gull and mad the filly credulous People, was carried on and abetted with nothing but Multitudes of Lyes, printed and baw'd about to serve a present Turn; as, that the Woman whose Child it was, was come out of Holland, and would appear to justifie it; that it was brought to St James's, fometimes in a Goach, some imes in a Warming-pan, that the Midwife had co. feffed the Cheat, &c. All which are evinced to be Falthoods by this, that they were never provid, or attempted to be provid, though it was so bigbly necessary: If the factious Members in the Convention, that voted up this new King, were preft by the loyal Party to call this matsiter into Examination, yet could never be brought to doe it, though it were in it felf of the highest Concern imaginable to our Nation, and withall mot absolutely necessary to justifie this otherwise barbarous Invali n of the Prince of Orange, and their own Treasonable Abdication of King James: Laftly, It this heavy Charge against the King and Queen, of trumping up-a Sham Prince of Wales, was industriously pread throughout the Three Kingdoms, not out of any real Zeal of preferving the five Succession, but onely as a fit occasion to throw off That, and the Monarchy too, as hereditary by Lineal Descent, by changing it into an Elective, as frankly acknowledged by one of the greatelt Abdicating Peers of the Realm, who owned to a Person of known - Integrity, that he believed the Prince of Wales to be as truly born of the Queen's Lody, as his own Son of his Wife's; and that therefore they were resolved to plack up both Root and Branch; which in other words is to change the Government: If, I say, all these Particulars be - true, as we dare affirm them to be, and are ready to p ove by unquestionable Testimonies; and as most of them are most notorious, then we may fafely conclude, that the Birth of the Prince of Wales was no just Occasion of a War, nor consequently can be derive hence a Right to the Government by the Law of Nations justifying his Invasion, as this Gen-- tleman pretends

I pity his Weakness in comparing (p. 15. this open Carriage of things in the Birth of that Prince, Lefore Multitudes of People of all forts indifferently to a Jugg'e between Three, (the pretended Pather and Mother and Mo

alleadiging it. The this, as I have been informed? The Hereford flower Woman was held Incapable of Children, which made the next Heip to the Estate suspect no Child was born : A crafty Lawyer, who undertook to discover it, first made Enqui y what poor Women the Midwise had delivered about that time, and found that ene of them had her Child miffing a having discovered this, he frights the Woman, by telling her there was a great Rumour that the had murchered her Ohild, and that the should be hanged if the did not iproduce it alive or dead, Hereupon the made known the whole Intrigue of the Midwife, and the presended Parents, and the Juggle came to be confest. Is this in any Regard like our Cife? None were two of there but the pour Por-loss immediately concerned, who hoped to enjoy the Efface, and a Countrey Midwife, who was to have a finite in it for her Project, at least we may be sure a good bufty Bribe. So that here was in really but One Wilness, the pretended Parents being barred from witnessing in their own Caule. Come now the Number of our Winness, and weigh their Worth, and how that they were not Perfons will dow, but came accidentally as they hapt to hear of the Queen's Contition, and it will appear impossible they thould be capable of a Confederacy or Subornation. Again: The Queen was never held to be barren; She had had formerly divers Daughters, and a Son; and t was like, and ho more but what by the course of Nature is generally expected, that She should at another time have a second Male-Child: Nor end any Mother of the Child appear to own it, as the Lying Party a good wife pretended the would; all those kind of Romances fervel like Buttleffes or Scaffolds to raise this new King to his Height, and build up our New Government; and therefore when things were better fertled, and could frand without them, they were taken down again, and laid affee as ulcless. In a word, let him bring an Evidence in any degree like that which his Hereford bire Jary had, and we shall acknowledge the Wrong done to the Nation, and to the R yal Family, and grant the War (had there been any) just: Till then let not fuch Perfonages lie under fuch intolerable Slanders, let not Christianity and Duty be fo wickedly violated, nor the People of England delided and feandalized with such Talk without Proof, and fach heavy Charger had without the least colourable Shadow of Evidence, to justific that they are to much as in any elegtee Probable, much less (as he mouths it) great and violent Prefumptions, and leaft of all (what they bught to have been) absolutely certain Truths.

Thus much of his great and violent Presumptions, &c. Next follows (for though he be a very flender Proper, yet he is fill a very hig Pretender) his Toog eat Evidence of a form of Design to subject the Establish Religion, and Civil Liberties of the Nation. I supplied he calls it Too great Evidence, because 'its so great that it dayles the sight, as the Sun does at Noon-days so that no Man can tee it, or blood it, else why is it too great? Now when a Man has too much of a thing, 'tis very unkind, and even ill-natur'd and hard-hearted, not to spate a Little of it to his Friends to whom he ones it, and who both mant it, and experit the some him. But we mistake his Gentus, he is a Practing not a Pribling Writer:

Writter: Non does be evidence the Calumny otherwise, than byreferring us again to his Alcoran, the Prince of Orange's Declaration: Whatever he finds there, he makes account is a First Principle, and so

bring of too great Evidence, it can need no Proof.

An impartial Narrative of matters of Fact known to most in Emgland, will give us a true Light to judge of this Point. King James his Religion and the hatred which the generality of the Nation had againft; it, made all those who were of a different Persuasion look with a jealous Eve upon his Actions, and apt to make the worst Conftructions of every thing he did, in favour of Papifts: Nor is it to be thought that he wanted many Enemies of the Old Excluding Fastion, who stood watching all Opportunities to breed him Vexation, and difaffect his Subjects by malicious Infinuations. Those of our Church who were heartily Loyal, did grieve exceedingly to fee him give his Enemies com fair occasions to work him Milchief: They judged that the setting up. the High Commission Court over Ecclesialticks, were there nothing in it but the Novelty of it, should not have been attempted in such Circumflances of at all. The making one of the Jesuits (Men more odious to our Nation than Turkish Mafries) a Privy-Counsellor, could, they fear'd, have no other likely Effect, but to exasperate all England to the highest degree. They conceived that the Dispensing with the Teff; and putting Roman-Catholicks promiseuously into Offices Civil and Military, might have been let alone 'till the Teft it felf were Abrogated's which would certainly have been more eafily obtained, had not this forward Anticipation put cur Church of England out of humour, and made them more wardy stand upon their Guard, and resolve unanimoully to part with nothing that could any way be likely to advantage them: But that which most Startled our Church, was the Delign of giving Liberty of Conscience to all Diffenters; they had fadly experienced in the long Parliament's Time, and in Oliver's Days, how those Men had trampled the Church of England under Foot; and they feared that this fetling them by Law, on an level with themselves, might in time give these retitless Men opportunity to play the same Branks over again. In a Word, they apprehended they were to fence with their Enemies on both hands, and therefore they combined-Velewi Teftudine fattato link themselves unanimonsly against the universally Dispunsing Power, and in Maintenance of the Pet.

On the other fide, Ring James was very earrieft to have a general Listerry of Conference fitteet by Law. Inched ever been his Benet; that Renfection purely for Conference fake was Oncho fiture. Bifides, his judged it would emrich the Nation, as it had done Hilland, by inviting James hither, and encouraging Trade; the conveniency of our Ports, above those of our Neighbours, being an efficacious Motive to draw the Praffickefrom them to us. His judged too that this universal Toleration, if wifely fetted and managed, might be a means to compose the Bedlam Animostries here about Religion, which had so often diffracted, the Nation, and, within our Memory turned the Government topfic-turvy. Nor was it one of his least Motives (though not the only one; as some apprehensed) to gain those of his own Religion at Toleration among the rest of the Diffracts; seathing (to specifical

partially) to which both his Honour and his Conference could not but exceedingly encline him. These Conveniencies meeting in one, took fuch full hold of his Judgment, that he was exceedingly fond of a Pro-Ject, which did feem to him so hugely Advantageous to the Nation. Hereupon he try'd all Sweet means imaginable to bring it about, but found all his Careffes ineffectual to induce our Church Party to permit it to be enacted in Parliament, which was his main defign: Wherefore he law there was no other Expedient, but to turn out fuch Officers as opposed his Intentions, and (for the present) to put in Dissenters to whom he knew it would be grateful, and by that means to compass fuch a Parliament, as was likely to establish this Liberty of Conscience by Law. He hop'd it would not much displease our Church, fince he declared he would continue to them the Prerogative above others, to be fill the State-Religion established by Law, to erjoy all the B. Shopricks . and Benefices, and by that means to have vast Priviledges and Advantages over any others whatfoever: But they were jealous that this was not sufficient to secure them for the future. And hence, as it happens, when both Parties are stiff in their contrary Presentions, mutual Diskindnesses past towards one another, which ill meaning Men laid hold on, and made use of to disaffect the Nation; and so facilitated

the way to welcome the Invader.

Now all this while, What had King James done to make his Sen in Law, and his own Nephew, nay his own Daughter, turn their Father out of his Kingdoms? There was nothing taken from our Church but the Power of Persecution, our Principles he meddled not with, nor intruded Men of Heterodox Tenets into our B hopricks and Livings; whereas now we have Socialians and Latitudinarians forfted into our Chief Cathedrals, and our Parish Churches; so that we may expect hortly, without God's special and undeferved Mercy, our Church will be made an Amfterdam of all Religious: Their Swearing Allegiance at a venture attones for all their Hererical Tenets, let them be as D module as they will, or can be. Had our Covernour (for to call him Head of fuch a different natured Church, were to call it a Monfter) taken away: our external Grandure, or our Revenues, it had been less pernici in of our Church, than what it now fuffers. For not outward Splender or R.b.s, but True Principles of Fai b are that which make a Charch. The Ca i tian Church under the Ten Heathen Perfecutions, was ftill a make perfect and pure Church, by keeping her Principles untainted, and admitting none into her Communion that were polluted with false Teners, though it wanted then all these outward Ornaments and Accessaries: So that both the very Effence and Being of our Church goes on new corrupting every Day; and her Revenues too, in great part, are given away to Aliens: Whereas King James never injured us, in the leaft, either in the one of those respects, or the other, (nor have we any more than a suspicion that he ever meant it) though he shew'd some Resentments against the personal Opposition, or rather uncompliance of some of our great ones, which was a trifle in Comparison: Whereas the Prince of Orange's declaring he came over to maintain the Protestant Religion, was a meer Pretence, being to far from maintaining, or upbolding our Principles of Faith, or affifting our Church; that, as appartially)

rears by the Event, he has taken Care to corrupt the One, and is that king halte to deftro the Orber; the War therefore (if any) cannot be faid to be ind upon that Account.

faid to be just upon that Account. As for what King James is pretended to have done in prejudice of our Civil Liberties, which required the Prince of Orange's over charirable vindicating them: He was told by his Judges that it was his due Prerogative; and suppose he had something extended that, why should this oblige a Son and Daughter to invade a Father? Had he beggar'd the Nation by Heavy Taxes, it had been wo fe for them when their turn came to enjoy it. But to magnifie the Regal Prerogative had been a high Benefit to them, especially in a Nation which was in great part of Coin-. mon-weal hish Principles, and ought to have been effeemed meritorions. Again: The greatest Encroachment upon our Civil Liberties that was objected, was the Dispensing universally with the Laws against the Disfenters, whence it was inferred, he might by the same Reason dispense with any other Law, or suspend the Execution of it, and then adieu to our (ivil Liberties. But it eight to be remembred, that when he did this, he declared his Judgment at the fame time, what in estimable Common Goods it would bring to the Nation, (which cannot be pretended the Dipenfing with any other Law whatfoever,) and he judged himfelf to be by his Office, as indeed he was, Over feer of the Common Good. It may be remembred, that it enrich'd not himfelf, but rather imporerished him; for he lost the Fines and Forfeitures raised upon Conventicles: So that 'tis manife!t he aimed onely at the Common Good of the Peop'e, and not at his own private Interest; and therefore if he had erred, it ought to have been very pardonable, and not have been made fuch a heinous Fault, as deferv'd an Invasion, and the Loss of his Crown. Again: It King James over reach'd, it was in order to get Universal Liberty of Conicionce feet ed by Law, which fitting so exactly with the Dutch Methods could not, to a Dutch Prince, be a just Ground for such an Unnatural Quarrel; especially fince it was intended to take the Grievous Yoke of Queen Elizabeth's Laws from off the Necks of those of the Presbyteriun Persuasion; which being the Religion that Prince had espeused, and been bred up in, it ought rather to have obliged him, than have exasperated him so highly as to draw his Sword at his Father. This Prete ce then of maintaining our Civil Liberties, and of Juffifying the War upon that score, is so open a Sham past upon us poor English Guils, that it gives it felf the Lye, even from the Principles of our New Governours themselves.

Fourthly, It is denied there was any War at all, either intended, or proclaimed, or acted. Princes that conceive themselves aggrieved, use to be so generous, as first to complain and demand Swisfaction; and if this be denied, then to d nomice War, and prefeture it. This is the Law of Nations, and the common Culton of the World: Fut here was no Complaint, no Demand of Satisf Ction, nor any War proclaim'd, but denied to the very time of their Landing; nor was any battel intended, That Warlike and Noble Prince (witness his faife-hearted Declaration) came over to wheedle, not to fight. Some Thousands of Souldiers he did indeed tring over with him, and they might encomp, and perhaps mufter; but for coming forwards within the Lifts, till the

King's

King's Army tad voluntarily dispersed it self, or offer to join Burel with them, you must pardon them. Alas! They were so far from the least Thought of taking upon them that Boldness, that itis well-known how upon the Delay of our Renegadoes coming over to them, they had called a Council, not of War, or of Fight, but of Flight; for it was there in a Panick Fear resolved to be gone most valiantly the next day, had not one of them unexpectedly arrived, who brought the reviving Tidings of more chief Officers to follow; whose shameful Deferring, as it gave them the Courage to stay, fo it amufed the King, that he durft not venture to trust the reft, not knowing the Number of his firm Friends, fince those who had the greatest Obligations in the world to be fo, had to dishongurably run to his Enemy, and turned Trainers. War implies some kind of Bravery in its Notion, but in this case there was nothing but a freaking Deachery, and a more Trick to fight forme with the apprehension of an universal Defection of the King's Army, and to debauch the rest with Shams and Lyes. This was the War, this the Success of War, which (p. 14) this idle Falker so much baggs of, and on which he builds the Prince of Orange's Right to the Government. A ftrange War without doubt, where never a stroke was fruct and as ftrange a Success of War, which depended not on the Biffled Course of the Dutch, but on the Treachery of the English Till now all Markind verily judged, that Success in War imported l'ictory or Conquestes and Can it be called a Victory where none fought? Belides, a Victor fignifies a Conquerour; and then England thould be his by Conquest, notwith-Handing the Confent of the People afterwards, unless the Prople compone. ded it with the Conquerours before hand, as the Kentifo Men did with William I. otherwife all is his. . 1 a b'vi ish as

Lattly , 'Tis denied there was an unanimous Confer of the Paople. He diffinguishes (P. 23) between a Righe to the Government, vandi be Manner of affirming is. The Righer the Lys, was founded on the just Causes of the Wir, and the Success in it: But the Assuming it was not by any way of Fore: or Violence, but by a free Confent of obe People, It fee as then the Government originally was nightfully his, even while he was in Holland, if he could but eatch it ; and to, if he were but to wife as to know his own Right , and his own Lat 13th supt which none can doubt, the came over with a Defign and full hisention to get it affect himself in his Declaration disclaimed any furth Intention, and communed to doe for all along, till the very time of chyfny him, even after King James was gone, and his Army diferfed; and confequently after the Success of the War (fuch as it was), was acquired : So that this acute Gentleman gives us a Nymand Sixeb Title to the Crown, which was never known to that Prince bimelf, nonever owned by him, nor himal in any of his Proclamations; nor (which is strange) acknowledged or intimated by the Convention; when they voted him King; and were at ign utter Lossion what Ground to fettle his Title, while the true King was yet living; nor, laftly, thought on, deam'd on, or beard on by any Man is the World, till him elf writ; and one would think, that had not his bad Caufe suspended his Use of Common Sense, he could not but fee that the very Word [Acceptance of the Government,] which he here uses, (pag. 2).) is clearly relative to their Giving him the same

Gerenment, and jupies we will wrong the life and agnification of; Words) giving it as a Kindnels too, since no man can be faid to accept that it a corp which was be som before. But give it they did, and not cordingly he left his band, and should them out the Favour Mand I wonder to what endy if this Diff carrier of his be thue, was all that made there about the Abdication-Rait, to make ream for a new King, and give him a Title: For if K. William had Right even then to the Gon vernment, upon the score of a fueceful Wan, King James had no Right avail, but was ablointely outed, whether he had abdicated or not abdicated to not about cased? But it forms they were all Fools to this Gendeman, whose quick fight could defery a Title which was hid front the dim Eyes of the nobels Conferning Nation.

But was there indeed a free Confens of the People ? Let as fes. A. Confent is faid then to be free, when there is neither Force over-awing .. Men, nor Frand either circumventing them with false Motives, on ? frightening them with falle Hears. Now the Common People were bubbled at that time with a Thouland Lies about the Prince of Wales, a Smithfield-Free, a League made with France to enflave us ally chap, that we were all fold to the French King, and in Danger to have all s our Throats cut by him; They conferred then upon fach Suppositions not ablolutely; and to these Suppositions being found to the take, their true Reason conferred noe, but they were furprized, terrified, and aman zed into a falle grounded Patfion, which made them in a hurry does they knew not what; whereas the most sedate Deliberation, and most true Representation of things is requisite to such a free Consent, as Submits al! the Subjects Lives and Fortun's to the maintaining this Newb Governour in the Throne, as they will do, whoever own their Alleried in their Mad Days, as it was ichted by a Mot mid of sub sonetg

At least he will fay the Convention tepresented the Nation, and it confented, and that's enough. I deny all Three. It was neither a Leri gal Representative, and so let it Vote what it will it binds no Man nor confequently is it enough for his Purpose: Nor did the People: who chose the Commons intend to empower them to aben the most fundamental Law of the Land, and make a New King as they pleafed Befides, if they would needs do it, they bught to have first repealed the Laws for the Royal Succession, and all those other Laws too which make it Treason to obey or acknowledge any other but the immediate Successour for their King; otherwise those Laws, vet francing, whatever was done against them was beyond all Excuse ille-1 gal and treasonable in the highest Degree. Nor, lattly, did the Convention unantmonfty and freely confert. The Common-wealthish Pasty could not celt in to bring in a Nem King, while the Old one was A fines and had not ineffered. Being thus at a loss, when they had computed the Number of their Faction who they hoew would note any things they put the King's Abducation to votes dis was carried, though is was fuch a Piece of bold Impudence as was hat another sime, (and will be for all fueure Ages) enough to make all the Convention held Madmen. The King was commanded out of his Palacetto a Prifon, and all Breaty with him refused , and to theing made juffly apprehenfive by his Pather's Fate, he had retied fob his Safeing hut well foreien ng C 2 the

the ambitious Drift of the Prince of Orange, He, both by his Letter from Recheffer, and divers others afterwards, particularly in that to the Lords, both claimed the Government ballenged their Alegianes, defield them to prepare things for his fafe Reum, and fignified he would be within Convenient dittance, to receive and answer their Proposals. He told them the Right was His, and bid them remember, that none

but Himfelf was or could be their Sovereign.

Besides: It was fresh in every Man's Memory, how his Royal Brother King Charles had retired also for his Safety, continued many Years. out of England; yet no Man living ever thought, non were his very Enemies to fenfelefs and sham less as to object; that he had Abdicated his Crown: Yet notwithstanding all this, and in despight of common Sense, Claiming was called Abdienting, and the Challenging their Allegiance was voted Renouncing it: They might better have voted; that the Huntington Colt, driven down to the Baidge at Cambridge, was a Sturgeon; that an App'e is an Onfter; or that Chalk is Cheefe; for the fe. are onely different Things, not directly Opposites, as a extre other. No-Wonder then it cost the Factious Party such Sweat and Toil to get such a dammable Contradiction enacted: Such a Solliciting, Cajolling, Frighting! Such Hurry and Clamour, Make him King, make him King,] enough to pur lober Mankind out of its Senfes! Belides; a Dutch Atmy over-arring them, and the Fear of being accused afterwards to the New King as difaffected to him, which confidering his Humour, impatient of Opposition in a pretence he was violently bent upon, might either prove their Ruine, or at least make them live very uneasie under him animal

-Take one short but very fignificant Instance, how things were carried in those Mad Days, as it was related by a Noble Peen (who was himself very forward for the Abdication) to his Friends upon occasion. There being no Judges yet appointed, there was a Debate in the Convention, what Gentlemen of the long Robe should be made cheate of to affift in the House: Some named Sir Francis Pemberton, Sir Robert Sawyer, and Mr. Fineh; but the Lords Mordant, Delamere; and some; others, took Fire suddenly, and brake out into hig and boisterous Language, telling the House flatly and plainly; [We will have none of thele! who have been Infruments in the late Reign?] Upon which a suddens Dump feized all the Lords, as it they had been attackt in Blank and Rear with Canons and Mortars, or the Thunder from Mount Sinas: For we looks on them, faid that Lord, as on fo many Princes of Orange er fuch as might not be contradicted for fear of his Displeasure; and in the same Manner most Votes were forced, till we had the Grace to be pliab'e to what the Military Lords and their Complices proposed. Is not this aftrange Kind of hee Confene, when the Heads of the Faction did All at their, Pleasure, and the reft, who made up the Generality, durit the Nothing me all, but what was agreeable to the Arbitrary Will of the Prince of Orange, and his infolent Adherents ? who and ho a

And yet though their own Party was so great, and had all tho'e Advantages to back them, they were able to carry it but by a very sew. Votes, as appears by the Catalogues of each. And which gives a greater Blemish in the House of Lords, than it had Advantage in the House

of Commons, Six Dukes, and Thirty Lords protested solemnly against it, and their Protestations stand yet upon Record: And the Generality of the others admitted it, because they judged it would be a Reine to themselves, and withall worse for King James, if the Government should settle into a Common-wealth than if they should keep up Monarchy, by setting up a King de Fasto at present, which is all they intended at first, as divers of them have declared privately to those Friends they durft trust; though now they are carried down by the Current of the Times into many Treasonable Actions, contrary to their first Intentions: So dangerous is it to recede from Principles, in

Compliance with any present Circumstances whatever.

Seeing then all this whole Turn of our State depends upon the Abdication Vose, as on its Bottom and fole Foundation, and no King was chosen, but in Supposition of King James's Relinquishing, and voluntary divesting himlest of his Crown, it follows, that the True Grounds of King Walliam's Right to the Government, is a piece of mere Nonsense, which we English Men call a Bull: And therefore since none of the many minded Writers, who have gone about to settle his Authority, have light on this Seventh and truest Title of his, I thought it fit to let them know it, that all his Friends may adore this replications Monster, this Bull; and in their Devotions cry aloud, These are the Gods that brought our Israel our of the Land of Agypt, our of the House of Bondage; i.e. from under the Government of King James. And for not thinking this Bull to be rational, and falling down and adoring it, our Loyal Marry suffered.

But to put an upfhot to this whole Business: Let any Man who has but Eyes, and common Sense, peruse these following Letters of King! James's to the Lords of the Council, and the House of Lords and Connions, and he must, whether he will or no, plainly see how prodigiously sensels this pretence is of that King's Abdication, on which, (and which onely) the Convocation grounded their Detironing him, and Seeing up the Prince of Orange in his stead.

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His Majesties Letter to the Lords, and others of his Privy-Council.

randerlas volt. es divers or them have declared privately to their Current e.g. of Thinks into his a trust Rec 2 in MeArily to the first for one one, is clarge one in the received non Prescaping Compliance with any profess Compliance with the critical state.

My Lords,

We faw that it was no longer Safe for the to remain within Our Kingdom of England, and that thereupon We had, taken Our Refolutions to withdraw for forme time, We left to be Communicated to You and to all Our Subjects, the Reasons of Our withdrawing: And, were likewife refolved, at the fame time, to leave fuch O ders behind, Us to You of Our Privy-Council, as might best fuit with the present, State of Affairs: But that being altogether Unfafe for Us at that times! We now think fit to let you know, that though it has been our confant Care fince Our first Accossion to the Crown, to govern Our People: with that fuffice and Moderation, as to give, if possible, no occasion, of Complaint; yet more particularly upon the late Invation, feeing, how the Defign was haid and fearing that Our People, who could not be destroy'd but by themselves, might by little imaginary Grievances be cheated into a certain Ruine. To prevent so great Mischief, and to take aways not only all just Caufes, but even pretences of Difcontent, We neely and of Our own accord redreffed all those Things that were fet forth as the Caufes of that Invalion : And that We might be informed by the Counfel and Advice of Our Subjects themselves, which. way We might give them a further and a full Satisfaction, We refolved to meet them in a Free Parliament; and in order to it, We first laid. the Foundation of fuch a Free Parliament, in reftoring the City of London, and the reft of the Corporations to their ancient Charters and Priviledges; and afterwards actually appointed the Writs to be iffued out, for the Parliament's Meeting on the Fifteenth of January: But the Prince of Orange feeing all the Ends of his Declaration Answered, the People beginning to be undeceiv'd, and returning apace to their ancient Duty and Allegiance; and well forefreing that if the Parliament should. meet at the time appointed, such a Settlement, in all probability, would be made both in Church and State, as would totally defeat his Ambitious and Unjust Defigns, resolved by all means possible to prevent the Meeting of the Parliament. And to do this the most effectual way, he thought fit to lay a restraint on Our Royal Person, for as it were abfurd to call that a Free Parliament, where there is any force on either of the Houses, so much less can that Parliament be said to act freely where the Sovereign, by whose Authority they meet and fit, and from whose Royal Affent all their Acts receive their Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement. The hurrying of Us under a Guard from Our City of London, whose returning Loyalty We could no longer Truft,

The ft. and the lother Indignities We differed in the Perforce the Earl of Feveribum, when fent to him by dis; and in that Barbarons Confinement of Ogrown Person We thall not beit repeat, bucaffe they are. We Ildube hot, by this time very well thabway and may we hope, if enough confidered and refl. Cted upon, together with bislother Molations and Breaches of the Laws and Liberties of England, which by this Invalion he pretended to reftore, be fe fi tent to open the Eyes of all Our Subjects, and let them plainly fee what every one of them may expect, and what Treatment they shall find from him, if at any time it may serve his Purpose, from whose Hands a Sovereing Prince. an Uncle, and a Father, could meet with no better Entertainment. However, the Sense of these Indignities, and the flut Apprehension of further Attempts against Our Person, by them who already endleavoured to murder Our Reputation by infamous Calumnies, (as if We had been capable of supposing a Prince of Wales, which was incomparably more Injurious than the Deftroying of Our Person it Self; together with a serious Reflection on a Saying of Our Royal Father, of bleffed Memory, when he was in the like Greumstances, That there is there is dietele dift die beingen who Prison and the Graves of Prisons, (which afterwards proved too true in his Cafe, could not but perfuade Us to make hie of that which the Law of Nature gives to the meaneft of Our Subjects, of freeing Our Selves by all means possible from that unjust Confirement and Restraint. And this We did not more for the Security of Our own Person, than that thereby We might be in a better Capacity of transacting and providing for every Thing, that may contribute to the Peace and Settlement of Our Kingdoms: Hor, as on the one hand, No Change of Fortune Shall make Us forget Our Selves, fo far as to cond feend to any Toing unbecoming that High and Royal Station, in which God Almighey by Right of Succession has placed Ut: So on the other hand, henther the Provocation or Ingravitude of Our own Subjects, nor any other Confideration whatfoever, shall ever prevail with Us to make the leaft thep contrary to the true interest of the English Nation; Watchie ever did, and ever must look upon as Our com. Our Will and Pronfine therefore is, That You of Our Pring Council, take the mott off Qual Chre to make thefe Our gravious Intentions known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about our Cities of Lonalmond Mo frmit Her, touthe Lord Mayor and Commons of Our City of "Lindon and to all Our Subjects in general. And to affine them; That We define mothing more than to recurn and hold a Free Parliament, where-In We may have the best Opportunity of undeceiving Our People, and thewing the Sincerity of those Protestations, We have often made of the preferving the Liberties and Properties of Out Sabjects, and the Proce sfrant Religion; more especially the Church of England as by Lawiestab tished, with such findulgence for those that differe from ther, as We thave always thought Our Selves in Jeftice and Care of the general Wellfare of Our People, bound to procure for them. And in the mean time You of Our Privy-Council, I who can Judge better by being upon the Place,) are to fend Us Your Advice, what is fit to be done by Us towards Our Returning, and Accomplifting those good Ends. And We do require You in Om Name, and by Om Althorny, to wicked acil:29th

wour to to Suppress all Tumults and Diforders, that the Nation in general, and every one of Our Subjects in particular, may not receive the least Prejudice from the present Distractions that is possible. So not doubting of Your Dutiful Obedience to these Our Royal Commands, We bid You heartily Farewell.

Given at Se. Germains en Laye the 14th, of January, 1688, And

of Our Reign the Fourth Year.

By His Majesties Command,

volet of the land of the Boyle of

MELFORT.

Directed shus However, the Senf of these ladiguites, an To the Lords, and others and I and Indias arounding realistic of our Privy-Council of Our Kingdom of England.

His Majesties Letter to the House of Lords and Commons, Writ from St. Germains the Third of February, 1688.

JAMES R.

My Lords,

WE think Our Selves obliged in Confeience to do all We can to open Our Peoples Eyes, that they may fee the true Interest of the Naeion in this Important Conjuncture; and therefore We think fit to let you know, that finding We could no longer flay with Safety, nor at with Freedom in what concerned Our People, We left the Reasons of Our Withdrawing under Our own Hand, in the following Terms.

He World cannot wonder at My Withdrawing My Self now thin Se cond time; I might have expected somewhat better Usue after what I writ to the Prince of Orange, by my Lord Feversham, and the Instructions I gave him ; but instead of an Answer, such as I might have hop'd for, what was I to expect after the Usage I received, by his making the faid Earl a Presoner against the Practice and Law of Nations; The sending bis own Guards at Eleven at Night to take Possession of the Posts at White-hall, without Advertising Me in the least manner of it; The fending to Me at One a Clock after Midnight, when I was in Bed, a kind of an Ocder by Toree Lords to be gone out of My own Pallace before Twelve the next Morning. After all this, How could I hope to be Safe, so long as I was in the Power of one, who had not only done this to Me, and Invaded My Kingdoms, without any just occasion given him for it, but that did by his First Declaration lay the greatest Aspersion 2007

Aspertion on Me, that Malice could invent, in that Clause of it which concerns My Son? I appeal to all that know Me, may, even to bimself, that in their Consciences, neither be nor they, can believe Me, in the least, capable of so Unnatural a Villany, nor of so little common Sense to be imposed upon, in a Thing of such a nature as that: What had I then to expect from one, who by all Arts hath taken such pains to make Me appear as black as Hell to My own People, as well as to all the World besides? What Effect that had at Home all Mankind have seen, by so general a Defection in My Army, as well as in the Nation, amongst

all forts of People. I was born Free, and defire to continue fo; and though I have vensured My Life very frankly, on several occasions, for the Good and Honor of My Countrey, and am as free to do it again, (and which I hope I shall yet do, as Old as I am, to redeem it from the Slavery it it like to fall under,) yet I think it not convenient to expose My Self to be Secured, as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and for that Reason do withdraw, but so as to be within Call, whenfoever the Nations Eyes shall be opened, fo as to fee how they have been Abused and Imposed upon by the specious Pretence of Religion and Property. I hope it will please God to touch their Hearts, out of his infinite Mercy, and to make them fentible of the ill Condition they are in, and bring them to fuch a Temper, That a legal Parliament may be called; and that among it other Things, which may be necessary to be done, they will agree to Liberty of Conscience for all Protestant Diffenters; and that those of My own Persuasion may be so far considered, and have such a share of it, as they may live Peaceably and Quietly, as English-men and Christians ought to do, and not to be obliged to transplant themselves, which would be very grievous, especially to such as love their own Countrey: And I appeal to all Men, who are Confidering Men, and have had Experience, Whether any thing can make this Nation fo Great and Flourishing, as Liberty of Confcience? Some of Our Neighbours dread it.

I could add much more to confirm all I have faid, but now is not

the proper time.

Rochefter, Decemb. 22d. 1688.

But finding this Letter not to be taken to be Ours by some, and that the Prince of Orange, and his Adherents did Malicioushy Suppress the same, We Writ to several of Our Privy-Council, and directed Copies thereof to divers of You the Peers of the Realm, believing that none durft take upon them to intercept, or open any of Your Let-

ters: But of all their We have no Account.

But We wonder not, that all Arts are need to hinde

But We wonder not, that all Arts are used to hinder You from knowing Our Sentiments, since the Prince of Orange rather chose against all Law to imprison the Earl of Feversham, and by Force to drive Us away from Our own Palace, than receive Our Invitation of coming to Us, or hearing what We had to propose to him, well knowing that what We had to offer, would content all Honest and Reasonable Men, and was what he durst not trust You with the Knowledge of.

Those

Fhole Falls and Wicked Reflections on Us, relating to the French-League, and to Our Son the Prince of Wales, We require You to examine into, and thereby fatisfic Your Selves, and all other Our Subjects, where the Imposture lies; We hope God will not permit You to deprive Your Selves of a lawful Prince, whole Education shall be such, as may give a Prospect of Happiness to all Our Kingdoms hereafter.

We are Resolved nothing shall be omitted on Our part (whenever We can with Safety return) that can contribute towards the red else of all former Errors, or present Disorders, or add to the Security of Protestans Religion, or the Property of every individual Saviject, intending to refer the whole to a Parliament, Legally Called, Freely Elested, and held wickense Constraint, wherein We shall not only have a particular Regard to the Support and Security of the Church of England, as by Law Established; but also give such an Induspence to Disserters, as our People shall have no Reason to be jealous of, not expecting for the structure any other Favour to those of Our own Persuasion, than the

exercise of their Religion in their own private Families.

And because many of Our well-meaning Subjects, whose unnecessary Fears for the Protestant Religion, and the unhappy Mistakes of the Bridge of Orange's Ambitious Designs (which they did not sufficiently see into time enough) have been Fatally led, beyond what they first intended, (viz. the Preservation of their Religion, Se.) to the Breach of all Laws, and even to the total Diffolution of the Annient Government it self; and knowing themselves thereby to be Obnexions, may despair of Our Mercy: We do therefore declare, on the Word of a King, That On Free Pardon shall not only be extended to them, but to all Our Subjects; to the worst, even those that Betrayed Us, (some sew Excepted.) Resolving in that Parlament, by an Act of Oblivion, to cover all Faults, heal all Divisions, and restore Peace and Happiness to all Our Subjects, which can never be effectually done by any other Methods or Power.

Having thus firmly Refolved on Our pare, whatfoever Crimes are omisted, whole Posterity shall come to suffer for these Crimes, We shall look upon Our Selves as Justified in the fight both of G. d. and Man and therefore leave it with You, expecting You will seriously and speedily consider hereof; and so we bid You heartily Farewell.

Given at St. Germains en Laye the Third of February, 1638.

And of Our Reign the Fourth Year.

The Letter to the Commons was Verbatim the fame,

To the Officers and Souldiers of the Army.

JAMES R.

The Regard We have for you as Gentlemen, and Souldiers, obliges the endoavour to restore you to that Reputation for Courage, Loyalty, So, which has till now been inseparable from English men, which

which by your late fatal Defection from Us your lawful Prince (whose particular Care you ever were) is now become Contemptible, even to those you joyned with against Us, nor carrany thing restore you to your former Character, but a sudden and hearty return to that Duty, which you have so unduly quitted, which We doubt not of, being verily persuaded, that even those that first lest Our Service, had no just Prejudice against Our Person, but were Betray'd and Decoy'd by Persons employ'd by, or in Consederacy with the Prince of Orange, who by most weeked and malicious Lyes, had represented Us as black as Hell to Our Suljests, who, We hope, do now see into their evil Designs, which they could never have thus far accomplished, but by deluding you into a belief of the Imposture of Our Son the Prince of Wales, the French-League, the Death of Our Brother the late King, &c. of all which they well know Us Innocent, and date not therefore bring on the Stage to be Examined and

Searched into, according to their former Promifes.

And can you then without Indignation, Serve the fe who have thus Villanously Betrayed, Deluded, and made a Property of you? And now having obtained their Ends by your Afficance, NegleCt, De pife, and Evilly Intreat you: For to the eternal Shame of all E.gl fo men, none but Foreigners are now trufted in the most Honourable Posts in and about Wvire-ball and London, whillt you are fent abroad as Mercenavies, and made subservient to them; cast back your Thoughts on the Villanies of their Actions, who face in Our Councils and Beeray'd Us, adding Treachery to the blackets of Ingratitude; enquire into the Morals of those General Officers that Deferred Us, and Misted You, and indeed into the Principles of most of thefe, in their prefent New Government, and you will foon be convinced. That 'emas not Religion (though that was made the specious Pretence) that influenced their Actings, but Inerest and Ambition; We charge not these Crimes, but on some particular Perions, well knowing that the greatest part both of Officers and Souldiers in Our Army, were not faulty in their Allegiance: And therefore We shall only look forward, and resolve to remaid all according to their Demerits, and prefer those first who continue untainted and shall be quickest in returning to their Duty; which We doubt not, but that e'er long, by God's Bleffing, We shall by appearing in Our own Kingdoms, give them an opportunity to do, and confequently to retrieve their own Honours, as becomes true hearted English-men, and Lovers of their King and Countrey.

Given at St. Germains en Laye the 14th, of February, 1688. And

in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.

Thing, though it were never so free, is able to give away another Man's Title, who is known to have had a true and undoubted Rebito it. Well, May a Conspiracy of my Servants, Tenants, and of my Children joyned with them, have the Power to drive or fright me out of my House? But not all these together, though never so many, can give away that Righe, which the Laws of the Land, and in our Case God's

Law too, have made my Property.

Thus much for his new Coined Notion of Right by the Law of Nasions, own'd by none but this fingular Writer, who feeing all other. Titles of this upftart Government baffled, was forc'd, for a shift, to recurr to this Whimfie. But fince he was pleafed to decline the Law of the Land, and run to a Superior Law, (viz.) that of Mations, we shall take leave to mind him (for He and his Party feem to have quite forgot it, or rather indeed to out-brave, and laugh at it) of the Supreme Law of all, the Law of God, which commands us to Honour our. Father and Mother, and not to cover, much le's to rob or cheat another; and leaft of all so near, and so Revered a Relation, of what is rightfully his. Let us confider then what Good and Conscientious Christians would have done in the Case of the Prince, and Princes of Orange, For, Firft, If their Party, with their Confent or Connivance, invented those Stories, which he makes the just Occasion of the War, on purpose to turn out their Father, it was in many regards the most hideous, and the most villanous Injustice that can be imagin'd. Secondly, If those Falshoods were suggested to them by others, they knew the Genius of the English Subjects was apt to raise and believe the most Senseless Falshoods of him out of hatred to his Religion; and so they ought to have confidered, that there was no kind of Evidence of this Story, nor to much as one Witness, that the Prince of Wales was a Counterfeit, nor (as appears by their not producing it in their Justification when it was To necestary) any one tolerable Reason, able to persuade a prudent Man, the Thing was true: Whereas, on the other fide there were, as was faid, near Fifty Sworn Witneffes of clear Honour and Reputation teltifying the contrary, any Two or Three of whom were sufficient to carry the greatest Estate, or take away the Life of any Man in England. They knew too; that if the presended Injury done to them were not really true, they must incurr the dreadful Indignation of a just God, for breaking divers of his Commandments, in that one Action, by Diffeonouring, Injuring, and Slandering their Innocene and near Related Neighbour: And who would hazard their Soul upon fuch odds? Thirdly. If they did indeed doubt of it before the Birth, they ought (as was faid) to have fent fome trufty Persons, or have fignified their defire, that some bere, whom they could confide in, thould be present. If they only doubted of it after the Prince was Born, they might have demanded that the fame Persons might have Counter-interrogated, and Examin'd the Witneffes; now they were bound in Conscience to use all fuch honest and wary Means before they proceded thus to the big best Extremities. Fourthly, If greatest Proof against no Proof could not fatisfie them, Why did they not, to clear their Honour that they had not acted Unjustly, Undutifully, or Unchristianly face the time they same hither, bring the Matter into a new Examination? Since nothing could

could more contribute to feetle them in the Throne, had it been prov'd an Impoflure, nor, have more obiged all England to them, nor have more taken off the Scandal of the World, and have fatisfied every Man of the Juffice of their Proceedings. Laftly, If it had been done for the good of Europe, and to bring the French King lower, (though this could not just fie this Invasion,) yet Why was not at least the wifest Courfe taken for this? Had the Prince of Orange purfued only the Ends express'd in his Declaration, and obliged King James, as he might easily have done, to redress Abuses bere, and make a lafting League with the Confederates abroad; it had, in all likelihood, by this time reduced the French King to a low Condition : For then King James had been able to unite all the Force of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and bend them unanimously against the Common Enemy: Whereas now our Men (and Money too) are employ'd in Fighting against one another in Scotland and Ireland; nor only fo, but England it felf, whose free Confent he fo much brags of, is so Distracted, that we know not how foon we may fall into the same Misfortunes; fome out of Conscience, not daring to hazard their Souls in Swearing Allegiance to one, whose Title the most zealous Adherers to him cannot agree on, nor themfelves are facusted with; and far more of them being disgusted to fee our Countrey beggared to maintain the Quarrel of Foreigners, and enrich our greatest Enemies the Dutch; fo that this Pretence of pulling down the Heighth of France, though I doubt not, but it was the Intention of the Confederates, was far from being the main Defign of the Prince of Orange. He could then have no other Motive of Invading England, Driving out his Father, and Ulurping his Throne, but mere Ambieion, seconded by Dutch Policy, making use of our Rebellioufness, filly Credulity, and our addictedness to Lying, that they might cheat us of our Money, make us defend their Quarrel, and impoveriffe us to that degree, that we should not dare to refent it, when they get our Trade, and coren us of our Plantations, (as they have done often,). and then (to crown the Dutch Jeft) laugh at us for a Company of dullbeaded block beadedly Fools when they have done.

But I must not forget the Instances he brings to prove this Invasion to be agreeable to the Church of England's Doctrine, and vouch'd

by the Law of Nations; and those are these Three.

First he Instances in Queen Elizabeth giving Assistance to the Dutch against the King of Spain, (p. 16.) Now this hath been so well answered already, in the Defence of the Bishop of Chichester's Dying Declaration, that I do not see any Reason to concern my self with it; and, methinks, this Answerer should have first answered what had been alledged there, before he ventured on this Instance; but some Men have a peculiar Considence to bring in Things over and over, though they have been answered sufficiently, and yet never take notice of the Answers. However, it is sufficient here to observe, that this is nothing at all to his purpose; he tells us but four lines before, That what he is to make out, it that the then P. of O by his Relation to the Crown, had a just Right to concern himself in the Vindication of our Religion and Liberties, and that this is not repugnant to the Destrines of the Church of England, P. 15, And,

I pray, good Sir, Had Queen Engabeth any Relation to the Government of the Low Countries? And if not, how does this Inftance prove that which he is to make out, that the Prince of Orange, by virtue of his Relation to the Crown, had a just Right to concern himfelf; and his Instance proves that any Prince, whether they have any fuch Relation or not, have a just Right to concern themselves. And what, I pray, is all this to a Title by Conqueft? Let it be admitted, but not granted, and which I suppose will not be easily proved, that no Foreign Prince hath a just Right to make War upon another Prince, for Invading the Liberty, and Religion of his own Subjects; hath he therefore a just Right to make a Conquest of these People, whose Liberties he pretends to defend, and to fet himfelf King over them? Or had Queen Elizabeth; upon pretence of fecuring the Dutch Liberties, a just Right to make her self Queen over them? In my Opinion it is a pretty odd way of refcuing People's Liberties, to make a Conquest of them; and if this be the Cafe, Princes and their Flatterers may talk of Piety and a Care of the People, but all the World will fee that the Defign is not Religion nor Liberty to the People, but a Crown to themfelves; and it cannot chuse but be very Pions and Religious to gain a Crown,

His next Infrance is in King James's time, When the Prince Elect ? mas chosen King of Bohemia. And how does this prove his Point? Why, be fent to King James for Advice, and be bad no mind be should engage in it. And therefore the Prince of Orange hath a just Right to concern himfelf, and to make himfelf King according to the Principles of the Church of England. I perceive it is not for every body to make Confequences, for who but our Authour could ever have found out how fuch wonderful Things followed from King James's denying his Son to engage in it. Well, But the Arch bijhop wrote a Letter to the Secretary, and faid, that be was fatisfied in bis Conscience that the Bobemians had a just Cause, and that the King's Daughter professed she would not leave ber felf one Jewel, rather than not maintain fo Religious and Righteous . Caufe. And that may be too; but without Reflection on that Princels, that is no Evidence of the Righteoninels of a Caule; for some Kings Daughters will not leave themselves a Jewel, rather than not to take away, and keep a Kingdom from their Own Father, and which is neither a Religious, nor a Righteous Caule.

His Third Instance is in the time of King Charles the First, When the King of Denmark had taken Arms to settle the Peace, and Liberty of the Germans, and was Deseated; and King Charles thought himsself concerned to assist himself to an Archbishop Laud drew up a Declaration setting forth the Danger, and requiring the People's Prayers and Assistance to prevent the growth of Spain, &c. Now it does not appear whether the King of Denmark's pretence of taking Arms was just, or unjust, (for our Authour has a peculiar faculty of talking of Things at random, and never stating them, and bringing them down to the matter in Dispute.) But let that be as it will, it makes no difference in the present Dispute. If or let the Cause of his taking Arms be originally what it will, I hope King Charles might assist him to prevent his being over-tun, thereby securing the Peace and Sasety of his own Kingdons. And this

was plainly the Cafe: The King of Denmark had made War upon the Empire, and was defeated; and it e had been left without Affillence, the Emperour might have wholly subdued him, which would not ocely have ruined Denmark, but have endangered all the Northern Princes, and especially England, as the Declaration it self speaks, there will be an open way for Spain left, to do what they pleased. And what is this to our Authour's purpose? Is there no difference between Affifting one Prince a Stually at War with another, to prevent his utter Overthiow and De-Aruction, and in such a case for wife and politick Ends to stop the exorbitant and dangerous Growth of a potent Neighbour; and for the same Prince to take away another Prince's Crown, because he is uneafie and ungratefull to his Subjects? Yet after fuch fallacious Inferences, our Author with his wonted Modefty adds, Let those who now with as much Ignorence as Confidence upbraid Men with Renouncing the Docirmes and Principles of the Church of England, read and confider these Passages, and if any thing will make them more wife and bumble, this will.

He contends all along to prove from those Instances, which are of feveral Independent Governours, and so relate to the Law of Nations, that this Proceeding of the Prince of Orange is not repugnant to the Doctrines and Principles of the Church of England, p. 15. and more particularly afterwards from the Hamilies, p. 21, 22. which fay, we are bound to obey a Heathen Tyrant, and to pray for him; from the Jews who were commended to pray for the King of Babylon, and for obeying Augustus; lastly, from our Saviour's acknowledging the Roman President's Power and Aus shority, as given him from God. Nay, he argues a fortiori, p. 21. from the Homilies, thus: If they (and confequently the Church of England) declare we are bound by God's Word to obey a Heathen Tyrant, much more ought we, by the Doctrines and Principles of our Church, to pay Allegiance to good and religious Princes, &c. This is the full force of his Argument why we quebt to pay Allegiance to the present Governours. But first, We cannot think them good and religious, whilst we see they have milfully broken, and obtinately continue to break God's boly Commandments, the Observing of which is the best Test of Goodness and Religion. Next he leaves the main Point, which Dr. Sherlick mentions out of his Convocations, that are better Declarers of the Church of England's Doct ine than the Homilies,) That the Authority of all those Conquerours was to be throughly fetaled; so that there was no moral Possibility the former Governour (in case he had been alive) could ever by himself, or his Friends, be restored; and therefore we seldom or never hear that any of fuch ejected or subdued Sovereigns did ever ftinggle for their Kingdoms, or went about to recover them. How this fuits with our prefant Cafe, where the former supreme Governour is living, did ever, and does ftill claim it, pursues the Recovery of it, has a most potent Monarch abroad for his Friend, who espouses his Quarrel, has engaged his Honour he will esther restore him to his Crown, or lose his own, is easie to be discerned. But moreover, which is no less material in this Bufinels, King James has great Parties in each of the three Nations, who do not acknowledge the prefent Governours, and look upon them as amjust Osurpers of their Father's Right. Belides, (which alters the Case extremely ,) here was no Conquest, or Subduing England by Force; nay,

2 1.4

no War at all exercised upon it: His bad Cause forces this mercenary Writer to shuffle to and fro, and pretend now one Thing, now another; but all of them, when they come to be scann'd and applied, equally to no purpose. Conquest he dares not call it in down right Terms, for fear of disgusting all England, by making us all Slaves; yer those Instances of Rightfull Power which he brings, and would have us think to be pawralled to this New Government, and proper to anet it, were all true Successes in War, and by consequence perfect Conquests. 'Tis easie to discern by these Himss what he would be at, and not hard to conjecture what Title, though they have agreed of none hitherto, they intend at length to pitch upon finally, unless the Patriots of the Subjects Liberty do in time restrain such audacious Attempts.

Thus tar in Answer to his settling King William's Title, which being shown to be incoherent and ill grounded, in every Regard, it tollows, that Mr. Astron suffered for a Righteous Cause, and for his due Allegiance to his erue Sovereign, which entitles him to the Honour of a glorious Martyr, and this in case he had endeavoured to make way for his Matter's Restauration. It remains to vindicate his Paper from those other

petty Exceptions this Gintleman makes against it.

He denies p. 24. that King James's Ulag, after the Prince of Orange's Arrival, was very hard, fevere, and unjust. Let the World judge. A Council was held at Windsor, upon Notice of the King's being in hold at Feversham, where it was debated, whether or no he should be fent to the Tower? And 'tis well known who they were that voted in the Affirmative. But the Prince having laid his Defign, feared that if the King staid here, some Accommodation would be made; so he fent Monsieur Zuglisten to tell him, he would have him to stay at Ros thester, which being a Port Town, and towards the Sea, might afford him opportunity to escape out of England. The Message mist him; so he returned to White-ball. The next Night the Prince of Orange fent three Lords to him at Midnight, to tell him he would have him remove by Ten the next Morning to Ham; a place very unlikely to be approved of, there being (as the King objected) neither Furniture nor Provisions for him; and therefore as he expected he moved, for his Return to Rochester, which after his fitting an hour in his Barge, waiting his Pleasure, was granted: And thither he was pack'd away in great State with Dutch Mirmidons; now (to the eternal Shame of Ena glish Su jects) their King's Gaolers, under whom he suffered Hardship enough; but he was not allowed out of his own Exchequer one Fara thing to bear his Charges. The King had before this fent him a Message by the Barl of Feversham, offering to settle all things in Parliament to His and the Kingdom's Satisfaction: Now had the Prince of Orange meant fincerely in what he presended, and come onely for the Good of the Nation, what could he have wished more? But what would have obliged and spectened another, did highly exasperate him; for he relith'd this Condescendence of his fo sll, being indeed unsuitable to the ambitious Aim he proposed to himself, that, firit, contrary to the Law of Nations, he made his Ambassadour Prisoner, and then sent his Worshipfull Command at Midnight to his Father, to be gone out of his bwn Palace to a Prison; for they told him a Guard was appointed for

him at Hamboufe, Whither the Prince of Orange ordered him to go the next Morning; enough to let the King fee what he was to expect, He tells the Prince of Orange could have prevented his going away; true! But then he feared the Nation would only reduce King James, not depose bim, much less chuse another, their own King being present; it was therefore thought more Politick to fright him away, and then pretend Abdication, and the Necessity of a new Government, which he knew well (as he and his Fallion would handle it) could light on none but bimfelf So that it was out of kindnels to bimfelf, not to King James, or the Nation, that he let him escape. Yet he Magnifies this Indulgence of the Prince of Grange exceedingly; but I would ask him, in what this Civility differs from that of Robbers, who first strip the poor Travellers of all-they have, and then turn them a Grazing without a Penny in their Purio, or as this pretty Gentleman phrases it, (p. 24.) Allow them great Freedom to go where they please. I would ask him too what one Thing was done by the Prince, which look'd either Generous, Civil, or in the least degree Respectful towards a King and a Father, and not rather mott Barbarous and Rude? Or what one Action of his gives us Reason to think, he intended to accommodate Things with the true

King, and not rather to fet up for himfelf?

The Marry, out of Love to his Native Countrey, refented, that All the new Methods of fettling the Nation, have bitherto made it more miferable, poor, and exposed to Foreign Enemies. What says he to this? Can Impudence it self deny this to be true? Is not the Interest of England torn piece-meal, and every Nation has a Limb of us? Is not the Charge of fecuring Scotland, reducing of Ireland, the hiring Souldiers from Denmark, and other Places, the Bribing of Holland, the Suifs-Contons, Savoy, and other poor Confederates, the keeping and paying two great Armies in Flanders and Ireland, and the fetting out a vast Fleet at Sea, gone all out of our Pockets? Has not the driving out King James, and the Protesting our new Governor (and his only) put us upon fuch an expensive War, that we are upon our last Legs; it being absolutely impossible to squeeze Five Millions more out of our drain'd Purfes to keep the War on foot another Year, which is the least Summ that can now be expected; For if Five Millions this Year have done nothing as all, 'tis to be fear'd that Seven Millions will scarce enable as to do much the next. A certain Person employ'd in the Freafury, who has the opportunity to know exactly the Incomes and Affines of the Exchequer, affured a worthy Friend of mine, that this Michaelmas there will have been paid out of it, fince this Revolution. Fifteen Millions; and that there is ftill an Arrear behind, to the Army, to the Navy, and for Stores, of Five Millions more: And this befides many Thousands (perhaps a Hundred of Thousands) owing for the Wages of transport Ships; and that for want of ready Money the Creditors are paid with Tallies, fo that those who have them can raise no Money, without abating Four or Five Shillings in the Pound, until the next Parliament gives Money to pay off all thefe Back-reckonings. The insuperable Difficulty of doing which, and withall of raising Seven Millions more to carry on the War the next Campaign, (not to mention the repaying the Money we have borrowed,) will make the great Work THEN

Work of Completing Functions that flowly on? Every wife Man, even of our State-Party closely feming, and with regret complaining, that in all appearance the War is as far from an End, as it was at the Be-

ginning.

Now where is all this Money to be had, or whence to be raifed? Are not our Ships taken in great Multitudes, our Traffick decay'd abroad. our Trade at home, the Tenants unable to pay their Landlords; fo that formetimes infload of bringing in their Rents, they are forcid to fend to them for Money to pay their Taxes, or elle they must throw up their Farms? Are not they already forced, in many Places for want of Money, to exchange one Commodity for another in the Markets? Is not half our Cath gone out of the Nation, to that in Holland salone our Guineas and Mill'd Money have been as frequent as their own Coin ? Is not Clipp'd Money, which is not worth Transporting, now. in a manner, the only current Coin left in the Nation ? And to prevent the possibility our good Money should ever return again, it is melted down in Holland into the droffie Alloy of their Schellings and Senvers. But the Transporting our Coin'd Money is not all: They have Invented thiore Expedients than One or Two open ones to impove sith England; the Decus & Theamen, inferibed on the Edges of our new Coils was inde'd an eff Chal Preferrative from Clipping and Fyling But now the Chippers (who by the Law are to fuffer as Frions) are become the best Friends to the Trafficking part of the Nation ; and if they be not connived at, and the Meliets down of our Mill'd and Unsirchmeifed Money into Bullion, transported in wast quantities every Year. Into Hollands has hypears by the Entries in the Gullom boul. I be not feverely punished, we must in a thort time be contented with onely Copper and Tin Parthoirs; of the perforcidita debale our Money to the Dutch Standard If Captain Guy, and feveral other Matters of Yarches. and other Veffels both Dutch and English, were firstly Haatmin'd, they could tell them what prodigious Number of Chefts of Money in Sprese. or in Bullion have been transported these Three fall Years into Halland and Flanders. We have indeed fome Returns from thenbe, for they bring us prohibited Goods; forthat both in Exporting and Importing our English Laws are fill Difpenfed with, without any permission from the Parliament, and no Man (though our Ruin depends upon it) dares complain. There is yet mother odd Commodity imported, which would much encrease the Revenue, if it did but pay Outton s' and that is Shoals of Caterpillars, that come over to devoue the Pruits of our Labours, the Dmch, I mean, and other Foreigners with their Wives and Children, of which fearce a Ship or Hoy comes hither that brings not from Ten to Sixty, Sc. Thefe and the French Hugonous are trainfported hither to make up feveral new Colonies, and compose a Secree Militia, to be ready at a dead lift to enflave our Countrey! if our Eyes being at length opened to fee our impending Ruine, we grow Headfrong, and refuse to wear the Yoke which is preparing for us.

Again, Have we felt nothing from the Infolencies of the Daveb, Danes, and other Foreigners wherever they come. Lafty, What are all those Losses put together, in Comparison to the loss of to many English-men's Lives, who have perish'd either by War, orethrough

want of Nocessaries, or elfe by ftrange Difeases in Ireland and at Sea. A Thousand or Two are swept away at a clap to this late prodizious Storm: The loss of the Corangrous, and the other Ships that perish d, and the damage done to all the rest that suffered in their Rigging, and otherwise in that Hurricane, is not worth the mention by those who are to inured to continual loffes of fundry kinds as we are; though I'm told by a knowing Person, that the Repairing of that one M sfortune will require some Hundreds of Thousands of Pounds to be added to the former large Audit of the Nation's Accounts, And will this Man perfinade we that all this, and many other fuch are no Mujeries? He runs from the Matter to talk of the Erench King; but the true point, to which he ought to have spoken, is, Whether we were extraen'd with any fuch Taxes or felt these Mileries of War and Paperty under King Fames? Had we any concern with France, either by abetting or oppofine it in by Daya? Had the Prince of Orange, or our felves used the King Dutchilly, a we ought, we might have fecure our felves while that Prince was here against either Poper or Slevery (which we pretended to dread) being forc'd upon us, we might have enjoy'd Peace, Plenty, Trade, and Riches, and have reapt incomparable Benefits, and walt Advantages by the Distractions of all others round about us. This we might have done; and if we faw Gaule to fear that France meant to diffurb us, when we medled not with it, (which that King is foo Politick to do.) we might by joyning with other Difinterested Pringes, have kept the Ballance of Europe even at our pleature, and have Ripulated with Holland and the reft of the Confederates to bear the Charges of the War, whilst we stept into their Affistance; whereas now we are forc'd to hire them at a dear Rates to affift us, to keep a Man in the Throne who has no Right to it: All this we might form have done, had we been wife; but, a Rebellious Spirit, which had, refelled and infamented us, hurried as inconsiderately into a War, for no other Reason but to maintain obstinately that Sin, which we ought to have repented of. And that War unless God's undeferval Mercy do prevail over his Justice, will by a just Judgment of the same God prove our wier Ruine.

He feers amag'd, p. 25. (for he feems Twenty times to wonder when he wants iomething to fay,) that Mr. Ashton should say, That she Raligion we present to be so fond of Preserving, a now much more that ever likely so be destroy'd. Nor do I wonder at his Amagement; for he makes account Religion consists only in having Benefices conferred on Ecclesiasticks, and secured to them let the Incumbents he of what Principles they will: This I told him of formerly, and here he makes my Words good; for (p.25, 26, 27, 26c.) he recknows up Three Things as putting our Religion out of Danger; (vig.) The same Laws, the same Protection, the same Encouragement: But Principles which are the Majo, and Essential to a Church, are the least part of his Thought. Let but a Church have True Principles preserved Sincere by her B shops and Passar, and she will be a Church and a Courient One, too in the Eyes of God, and all good Men, in despight of all the Opposition that wished Men, or First less can do, though she had neither Laws. Protection, nor the deast Engineers to before all the 1 and 1

and the State were bent against her. As for our new Principles them. let him but open his Eyes, and he may fee Rebellion made now a chief point of Religion. He may fee Oaths of Allegiance made to Perfons. whole Title to the Government (as appears by what has been amply prov'd above) not one Man in England certainly knows, and not one knowing and diffneereffed Man is fatisfied in, fore'd upon Men's Confeiences to make the Kingdom, as far as lies in their Power, a Nation of Knaves, and all those who make a good Conscience of their ways a Company of Beggars. He may fee the Commandments laugh'd at and those who dare boldly stand up for them branded and perfecuted for Traitors, and put to death as the worft of Malefactors. Belides the foremention'd Miteries, there is fill One that is no lefs Galling to Perfons of Honour and Probity, who for themselves, and the Reputasion of the Nation, would preferve the Characters of Just and Upright, Loyal and Pious, Conscientions and keepers of their Faith to God and Man; thefe now lie under the heavy Sentence of Violaters of all the Cardinal Vertues, with which Character when Foreign Nations once brand a People, it flicks upon them to all succeeding Ages. In former days we were reputed Valiant, Hospitable, inviolable Observers of our Compacts, Faith, and Honefty.

But we can't forget what an Odium the Mureber of King Charles I: Brought upon the whole Island of Bricain; yet there was then fome just Apology to be made for that Barbarity: That Tremmdons Fact was not committed 'till after Six Yeas Civil War,' wherein the Victorious Rebels had conquer'd, difarm'd, and utterly impoverish'd the Loyal Party, yet there still remain'd a numerous Part of the Three Kingdoms, who made many generous Attempts to restore King Charles II. and the whole Nation wearied with their endless Misseries, and the Succession

fion of Ulurpers, at last happily effected it.

Now what shall we say for our selves, who have Abdicated our King without shedding One Owner of Blood; or adventuring a bloody Nose in his Defence? All Nations from the Oreades to the extreamest Indian must judge us to be a People who have no regard to the most Sacred Oaths, the most ungrateful of all Mankind, a Nation fitted for Slavery degenerating from our Loyal Ancestors, the Off-spring or By-bloms of

Profligate Rebels.

Yea, we are still so much worse than those of the last Age, in that now so numerous a Party of the very Clergy, who should, and do know the Oligation of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which every single Man of them took to their lawful King, have by unpardonable Persury renounc'd their King, and sworn Allegiance to One whom they know in their Consciences, and have often declar'd upon Occasion hath no legal Right; no, not so much as Cromewell the Wicked: These are the Men who have brought an indelible Scandal and Harred upon our Religion. Miratin Orbis se tam cito sastum esse Arrianum, was the pathetical Exclamation of a holy Authour of Old: What would be have said, if he had lived in our Age, to see a National Clergy. Apostatis from the Establish'd Doctrine of their own Church, in the point of Allegiance and Non-resistance? By the Conduct of these Men, one would be almost tempted to look upon all Religion as a mere Cheas,

and to believe that they themselves own'd no God. Whether they do or not, I shall not give my self the trouble to enquire; but I am sure some of them do as good as own no Hell, by Teaching Men, that notwiths standing those terrible Threatnings God in his holy Word has denounc'd against the Incorrigible and Impenitent, of everlasting Fire, everlasting Punishment, &c, he has not obliged himself to the literal Performance of them, since he that threatens keeps the Right of punishing in his own hand, and is not obliged to execute what he hash threatened, any farther than the Reasons and Ends of Government do require, &c. Dr. Tillosson's Sermon before the Queen, March 7, 1690, pag. 13. And that these Threatnings, Se. do not restrain God from doing what he pleases, though they cut off from the Sinner all reasonable Hopes of the Relaxation or Mis-

tigation of them. p. 16.

Of what comfortable Importance this Doctrine may be to some; and how necessary under our present Circumstances, let any one judge: Tis impossible Men should have perpetrated such abominable. Villanies as have been lately transacted, to the Amazement of all that have the leaft Sense of Piety or Honour left, unless their Minds had been first debauched with these or the like Principles. He that will audaciously violate the facred Commands of God, acknowledged fuch by the Church of England, his own Subscriptions, Oaths, and Preaching, must necessarily fantie some secret Reserves of Mercy in the Breast of the Almighty for the Authors and Abetters of fuch horrid Crimes, upon some Occasions, which will not suffer his Justice to pass upon them in another World, or some extraordinary Relaxations or Mitigations of suture Torments. The first feems to be despaired of, because there is small Hopes of Repentance left, the Scriptures for that very Reason, perhaps, amongst many others, comparing Rebellion to the Sin of Witchcraft; the latter therefore is pitch'd upon as most congruous to carnal-minded Men, who to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season, and not willing to go to Heaven through Tribulations and Afflictions, do rather chuse to undergo a future Purishment, especially if it confists onely as to its Perpetuity in a bare Exclusion from Eternal Happiness. Serm. D. 15.

Now, I fay, such a Series of Villany as has been hitherto, and shall be farther exposed, being altogether inconfiftent with the Principles of Christianity, which this accursed Generation of Monsters had not long fince most zealoufly professed, they found it as necessary to Abdicate their Saviour and his Precepts, as well as their King and his Rights, as far as they durit. The first thing they did was to ridicule and blasphemoully expose the Doctrine of the Cross, and if they could have drawn over the Majority of the Convocation to their Party, the next thing they defign'd was to have expunged out of the Liturgie the Athanasian Creed, which was in effect to have denied the Divinity of our Saviour, left they should have been charged with Rebellion against God. as well as their King, if all Power Le derived from the fecond Person. of the Trinity as Mediator, and all lawful Kings, whether Christians, Heathers, or Mahometans, be his Vicegerents, and he hath the Difo fal of their Crowns, and the Command of their Power, and doth actually employ, and makes use of it in the Prosecution of the righteous Ends of his Governmene, as Doctor Scot has learnedly proved in his Christian Life, Part. 2.

As it appeared necessary to reform the Dcctrines of Christianity, to make them square the better with their late Practice; so like wise to procure an Alteration amongst our Exclessariacal Governous too, it being as much for the Interest of this upstart Government the Metropolisan should be an Usuper, as the supstart Government in the Civil State; Like B shop like King, being as true a Maxim now, as No Bishop no King heretosore. If the Metropolisical See had been really void, this present nominal Archbishop was unqualified for it, being esteemed an Heretock, and by the 84th Canon of the Apostles, as being an actual Rebol, who ought to be deposed, or degraded from his Priessioned and shough in the present juncture he cannot be convicted and sentenced; yet his Crimes being so notorious, all that understand them ought not in Conscience to own him as a Christian Bishop, or hold Communion with him, according to the 32d Canon of the Labdicean Commit, that we ought not to pray, or communicate with Schismaricks, or Heretocks.

Of what grand Concern these particulars are let every good Christian seriously consider, and lay to heart. Now it is that Poison is poured out into our Church; therefore it's high time for us to avoid the Contagion, according to that excellent Advice of St. Cyprian, Keep on a Distance from the Insection of such Men by seeing from them; and shun their Conversation as you would the Cancer or Plague, according to the Premonition of our Lord, Mat. 15. 14. They be blind Leaders of the blind, and if the blind lead the blind, &cc.— Let them perish by themselves who are willing to perish, let them alone remain without the Church, who have for she Church. Epist. 40. ad Plebern, &c. How can these Men pretend to be Guides to others, who keep to no certain Path themselves? What certainty can there be in their Doctrines, when they vary them with their Interest, and ever calculate them to serve a turn? Therefore none ought to communicate with them, who value the Salvation of their Souls, and are not willing to partake of their Guilt and Punishment.

The Doctrines and Duties of our holy Religion have the Spirit of Touth and Holine's for their Author, and like him are always the fame, without any Shadow of Change: But from what Spirit mutt these bold Attempts upon Common Christianity proceed? Holloizini in his Defence of Origen, lib. 3. cap. 6. cites leveral Passages out of his Writings, wherein he affigns a different evil Spirit to every Vice or Sin, which he calls inimicas, & adversaries Virentes, and delivers this Notion among the rest: There feems to me, Tays he, to be an infinite number of contray Powers, or Spirits; because in almost every Man there are certain Spirits, which incite and provoke him to the Commiffion of divers Sins : E.g. There is a Spirit of Fornication, and a Spirit of Anger, a Spirit of Avarice, and a Spirit of Pride; and if it happens that any Man be acted by all these, or more Sins, be is to be look d upon as possessed by so many or more Enemies, or evil Spirits. Surely then, according to this Opinion of Origen Legion must have taken Possission in some of the Grandees of this new schissnatical Church of England. How obvious is it for any but those who are infatuated, and spiritually blind, to differn the Spirit

of Robellon , Ambreson , and Romalation 5 the Spirit of Horefie , Schiffe, and Perfecusion ; the Spirit of Blafpberry , Lying , Slandering , and Apo-

stacy, reigning and triumphing among them.

This word Apollacy I am very fensible will found very harsh in their Ears; but let any fober and unprejudiced Person seriously consult the feveral Acceptations of the Word among facred and prophane Authors, and he will foon be convinced, that it will be no easie Task for these Gentlemen to purge themselves from the imputation of it. Grotius, in this Appendix to his Commentaries de Antichrafto, tell us, that by Apoflag is understood all kinds of Hostility or Contumacy against a Superiour, who has the Right of Commanding, and proves it from feveral Texts of Scripture. Sometimes it fignifies a Defection, or a Revolt; fee Suidas and Stephanus. In its common acceptation among & Christian Writers, a Departure from the Faith, by going over to Herefie, &c. Maimonides, as he is cited by Hossinger, in his Thefaur. Phil log. 1. 1. 1. f. 3. amongst the several Distinctions of Apostates among the Fews, reckons those who taught or follicited others to fin. I shall not make a particular Application of these fignifications of the word Apostacy to the forementioned Persons, I onely refer the Reader to their Sermons and other Discourfes, their very Prayers and Practices, it being so eafie to be observed by the meanest Capacity; but shall onely add this following Remark, as an Illustration of what has been just now charged upon them. If the Abrenunciation, and the folemn Stipulation to keep God's holy Will and Commandments, &c. before Baptism were the real Tefts of the Faith and Sincerity of the Candidate, by which he was obliged to deep himfelf, and to take up his Crofi; i.e. to forfake Fapher and Mother; Wafe and Ghildren, Lands and Possessions; and to lay down even his very Life, when ever they should come in competition with his Duty; and we cannot ordinarily be called to the Performance of this our Vow and Covenance, but under unrighteous and perfecuting Princes, then it follows clearly, that by our entring into Christianity we have tied up our hands (by our own folema Act) from making any forcible Resistence against our supreme Governours, upon any pretence whatfoever, and that the Doctrine of the Crofs, or Paffine Obedience, is a fundamental Doctrine, or Principle of the Christian Religion; and, laftly, that whosoever seach or prustice otherwise, are Renegadoes and Apostates from Christianity it felf. This was very near the Assertion of Dr. Burnet himfelf, in his Sermon on Rom. 13. v. 5. p. 36. 'But, bleffed be God, our Church hates and condemns this Doctrine, (viz. of rlepoling and refifting of Kings,) from what hand foever it come, and hath established the Rights and Authority of Princes on fure and unal erable Foundations, enjoining an entire Obedience to all the lawful Commands of Authority, and an absolute Submission to that suf preme Power which God hath put in our Sovereigns Hands. This Doctrine we justly glory in , and if any that had their Education in our Church, have turned Renegadoes from this, they proved no les Enemies to the Church her felf, than to the Civil Authority; for that their Apoltacy leaves no blame on our Church.

If this be the Case (as we have all the Reason in the World to think so) it's plain and evident to any ordinary Understanding, That these

Men are not true Church of Bigland Divines, as they would have an the World believe; neither is the Church in Possession any more to be effected the True, Legal, Ancient Church of Bigland, than the Domassisti of Old were to be accounted the only Casbolick Church. Their Priesthood is now become Schismarical, having erected Assar against Alear; their Liturgy Bigliphemous and Diabolical, wherein they address themselves to God as the Author and Fountain of all unjust Power, the Patron of Injustice, and the grand Protector, and Encourager of the Notorious Violators of his most facred Laws. What is this, but with the most impudent and horrid Blasphemy that ever was heard of, to beseech the Almighty to divest himself of his most glorious Attributes, and to enter into a Leagure with Hell it self, for the support and maintenance of all their detestable Impleties.

What have they now to fay? Confusion and Shame must cover them, who are the Scandal and Reproach of the Pure and Undefiled Religion they should profess. Thousands of these could not say though in reality the well known pretence of most) that they swore for Bread; God forgive them they durst not trust Providence, wanted the Courage to give a good Example, or to teach their Flocks the danger of Perjury: They finned against God, and his Assisted, and

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their own Souls, and knew they did to.

In the preceeding age we can fearce name a Dignifi'd Clergy-man, or any Perfon Eminent for Piety and Learning, in either of the Universities, in City or Country, who were not outed their Benefices for refusing to take the Covenant or Engagement; but now the great Body of the Clergy have been observed to renounce their Allegiance, and worthing the Idol of the Piogani: Indeed out of this Number we must except the Most Reverend the Metropolisan, and Seven of his Righs Reverend Brethren, and the other Clergy and Loyal Pellows in the Universities, who have not defiled themselves with the Abominations of their Apoflate Brethren, whose Virtue and Piety is the only Thing left to attone for these lond and crying Sins of our Clergy, and, who incessantly like Abrabatan intercede with Almighty God to avert his Judgments from this sinful Nation, and which the Perjury and Apostacy, and the general Defection gives but too sad an occasion to sear hangs over our Heads.

In short, whatever hopes we may conceive of ever seeing the true Church of England flourish in its true Lustre and Purity, we must owe it start to the infinite Mercy of God) to those never enough applanded Heroes of our Church, the true Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and those ejected Bishops, Se, who have stood in the Gap of Schism, and born up Loyally against the all over-baring Torrent of the prevacicating Party, who have preferred the Peace and Comfort of a good Conscience, before all worldy Honour and Interest, and feard the offending their good God more than their own certain Ruine from ill natured Men. How will these glorious Lights of our Church, and true Servants of the living God shine after their Tryal is over past, when the Adorers of Mammon (those interloping Arch bishops, Bishops, and those other mean spiritted Worldings, who preferred their Profit before their Honesty) shrink, look dem and pale with Guilt; and at length their Candelling their Candelling of the structure of the structure of the candelling their candel

elleflicks being removed from them, come to be utterly extinguish'd

and go out like an ill feenting Snuff.

Some Instances he brings (p. 26.) to shew we are not fingular in Perjury and Rebellion. He tells us that the Law of the Land and of Nations, require us to Iwear Affegiance to him who is in Pollettion? Which lame Pretence is answered fully over and over, in the forenamed Books against Dr. Sherlock; only this Gentleman's Affertion is more raw than his, for be proceeds upon quiet Poffession (as do also our Lawyers, whom he speaks of, and would have quoted if he durit. But this Man makes account that bare Poffession, however qualified, gives Title to our Allegiance, nay obliges us to swear it too, which we cannot do unless we can safely swear, that this Discourse of his is Convictive; which, The be fworn, is nioft pernicious Nonfense, and would If followed, pervert all the fettled Order of Mankind, and all Right in the World. To affert that mere Possession of a Thing gives a Man Right to it, is enough to encourage all Men to be Rebels, Wirpers, Rabbers, Thieves, and Cheats. It cries aloud to them all, Casch that catch may, my Masters; all that you get is your own, by the Law of the Land, and of Nations, of once you get but Possession. It makes the saying of the Th eyes [This is mine, I stole it] very strong Reason and good Sense. He'll lay these Cases are not parallel to his: But why are they not, if a true Prince has as good Right to his Crown, as a Subject has to his Money or his Goods? For if he has, then a Poffestion eransfers the Right of a Crown; fo it must transfer the Right of a Purfe, a Cloak, &c. And with to much the more Reason as the Right of the Crown (on which the common Good of the Nation depends.) ought to be more fixe and unalienable, than the Right of private Men to their Goods, which are of an inferior Concern. Now if the Law of the Land require us to swear Allegiance as due to any present Pollessor, the same Law declares that Allegiance, and confequently the Crown is his Right; otherwife the Law would oblige me to swear, false. And if the Law of the Land declares the Prince of Orange has Right; To what end did this Gentleman all this while run about to the Law of Nations to patch him up a Title? It must be a pitiful Cause that makes a Man, who otherwile has wit enough, still interfere thus with himself.

But he lays, That if an Oarb of Allegiance should not follow Possission, there would be infinite Snares to the Consciences of all such who are required to obey, but are not bound to enquire into the Right of War. Note, by the way, one of those shuffling Tricks, of which his Book is sull. He begins with Oarb, but proceeds as if only Obedience were required. As if a Man could not live quietly under a Government, without Swearing and calling God to witness that the Governor has Right to the Kingdom, (and consequently to our Allegiance,) whether we know he has or no. But let us apply our selves to his Discourse. All the play of these Men, is to persuade the World that this tusiness of Allegiance due to King James only, is a kind of dubious Case; and then if they can but get their Judgment to bever, they hope that Interest or Fear may turn the Ballance, and make them sweat to King William: Whereas may turn the Ballance, and make them sweat to King William: Whereas and doubt of. Is it not evident to all, that King James was Three Years

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agoe the undoubted Supreme Governor, and that all the World held that none but he had Right to the Crown, and confequently that Aflegiance would then be lawfully fworm to none but bim? Is it not evident that he is living, and has not given up his Right; and to, by the common course of the World, 'tis evidently bis still? Is it not evident even to themselves that the new Right of the Prince of Orange is obfoure, that Men are in feveral Minds about the Ground and Reason of it; some alledging one Thing, others another, which thews that England it felf is not farafied with the Truth of his Title, but is led on by Fear or Inserest? Is it not evident that very many confcientious and good Men. amongst whom are the Primate, and some Bishops, and many reverent and worthy Paftors of our Church do refuse to take the New Oath : whose Authority far ousweighs all the others, in regard they have no Motive but pure Conscience, fince they are ruin'd for refusing; whereas the Complying Party find Interest, and the Favour of great Men, by their mercenary Submission? Is it not manifeltly evident to every fincere Christian's Conscience, even of the most ordinary Capacity, that Oaths are most Sacred Things; and that those Oaths which were due, or have been from upon certain Grounds to an undoubted and indifputable Authority, ought not to be unsworn again, by swearing Allegiance upon uncertain Grounds to a dubious (at least) and dispurable Authority? So that here is no most Cafe in the Buliness, as he would pretend, but plain Sense, which every fincere and conscientions Christian is capable of comprehending: There is no danger then of infinite Shares, (as he madly calls them,) not of any at all, but those of weak Fears, or base buereft, which have already enfoared many Confeiences, and are foread every where, as the Devil's Ness to entangle and enfnare the unwary, unftable, and worldly minded Men.

He asks, p. 26. If it be Perjury and Rebellion in the now French King's Conquests, for the Inhabitants to take Ouths of Fidelity to the French King? Now this is a very pleafant Gentleman; and for all his objecting, p. 19. The admiring the French Conduct to this fort of Men [Mr. Afhion's Friends.] He hath faid more for the French King than any Jacobice in Buzland will fay, and the rankelt French Man in the World can fay no more; and that is, that he hath a Right to all the Places he has over-run with his Arms, in Flanders, Savor, yea, and the Principality of Orange too. But then, Where is that independent Sovereignty which our Anthor talks of, as necessary and essential to make a Title by Conquest? For he is posses'd of the Principality of Orange; and therefore according to our Author, the King of France is Prince of Orange, and no body elfe. And not to meddle with what Right Conquest conveys, (as being foreign to the present Question;) here is this vait difference in the two Cafes: The King of France actually Conquered these Places and People; the Prince of Orange dick not Conquer England, and none but a Mad-man will fay he did: And therefore if the Author would have made the Cale parallel, he should thus have put his Question, Whether it would not have been Perjury for the Inhabitants of those Places, to have put the Government into the French King's Hands, to transfer their Allegiance, and to take an Oath of Fidehry to him, when it was in their Power to refift; may,

when he could not do it otherwise but by themselves, and by their own Contrivance, and Assistance: In that Cose, which is plainly ours, I stick not to assist that it is Perjury and Rebellion with a witness; and no Man who hath not his Ear bored, and is became a Slave to Interest, can have the Face to deny it: And yet for all that he goes on. If is be not Perjury and Rebellion in those Conquer'd Provinces, How comes it to be so here? By which we say again, he is ready to maintain, (for he does here manifestly suggest it already,) That England is the Prince of Orange's by Conquest, and all our Lives and Estates are at his Disposal. And there wants nothing but one of his institute Snares, a good rich Deanry, or Bishoprick, to make him perselly bold and openly maintain that Opinion. Parliaments had best look to such Libels in time, less the pretended Conqueror come to addicate them too as Useless, or Obstacles to the pretence of Conquest, and make all our

Countrey-men become Slaves to his Ambition.

But what meant he by his inflancing, p. 26, 27. in the Portugueze's Iwearing Allegiance to the Duke of Braganga, though the King of Spain had enjoyed the Crown for Three Generations? The Case was this. There were Three Pretenders to that Crown, and most of the Universities in Europe were emploied to determine which of them had Right; when Philip the Second, while the Thing was yet under debate, feeing them encline most to the Duke of Braganga, fends the Duke d' Alva with an Army, and very unfairly Surprizes and Oppreffes the Headless Nation, and decided the Controverse by the Sword: This was no Conquest, but a manifest Usurpation, for no Battle was fought, nor Reliftance made; Was this parallel to the Case of us in England? Was our Nation Headless at the time of the Prince of Orange's Inva-Was it under dispute whether King James, or he had Right to the Crown? Or had King James usurp'd it, as King Philip had done? Was he not in quiet Possession of England, which King Philip never was? The Portuguege still grumbling and refenting, that they were enflav'd to a Foreigner, when a King of their own Nation had a Title to it. Again, their swearing Allegiance to King Philip, was too, in many regards, more justifiable than ours; they were kept under by a Foreign Force, whereas we do it voluntarily: Besides, the Spanish King had been one of the Pretenders, and the Question was not decided. Had the Prince of Orange, or his Princess, any kind of presence to England while their Father liv'd? Laftly, They rofe against a Foreign King to introduce one of their own Nation, whereas we role against our own to introduce a Foreigner. How shallow then is it to huddle together many Inflances, and not bring one of them home to his purpose? How ridiculous to argue all along from Matters of Fall to Matter of Right? Which is just as wife as to pretend, that whatever has been done, must be well done; and is the same, as if he would set himself to prove, that we were not the first, nor the only Rebels, Traytors, or Perjured Per-Cons, that have been in the World; but that there have been others. both of our own and other Nations before us, which we never denied.

He has not done with his Plot, to prove the Paper none of Mr. Astron's; but (take which you will) tells you p. 28. That either 'tis not his, or else that be contradicted himself. In what I beseech him? Why,

Mr. Afteon, at his Tryal faid He could not but own be bad a fair Trail for his Life, and yet in his Paper he complains of the severe Charge of the Judges, and hard Measure: And where lies the Contradiction? Every Man knows that the Trall is over before the Charge is given, or the Verdict brought in by the Jury: So that nothing hinders but the Tryall may be fair, and feemingly kind, though the Charge which came after did aggravate, and made the worse Misconstruction (as indeed it. did) of every thing, and so was very hard and severe. But does Mr. Ashton mention no bard Measures besides? Does he not object his cose Imprisonment, the hasty and violent Proceedings against him, and the Industry used in the Return of fisting Persons to pass upon him, the denying of him a Copy of the Panel, with an Sc. at the end of them? Were not these bard Measures, and some of them villanously unjust, and indeed plainly thewed, that fince they faw him to heartily honest, that he would not be warpt, the Resolution was taken beforehand by the Party to have his Life, per Fas aut Nefas? Does he deny these were bard. Measures, or that Mr. Astron said true, when he told us he had received fuch bard Measures? He confesses both, by his Silence in such main Businesses. Is it not a rare piece of Justice, to cult out a select Company of Court Pick-thanks, who they were fure would hang him; and get deny a Copy of the Panel, that he might except against forme chief Bonce-feus, (and particularly that malicious Jury Man he so complains of,) who would never leave prefling and folliciting the reft, till they brought them (let the Cause be never so ugly) into the same Guilt of Murther with themselves? Yet a Man who loses his Life by such Tricks. is (according to this Caviller) confident, uncharitable, or whatever other Character his time-ferving Spite thinks fit to put upon him, if he do but barely speak of what they did to take away his Life.

Now after all this Outery and heavy Charges, to lay Load upon the Martyr's Credit, what was it he faid: Though I have, I think, just reafon to complain of the severe Charge given by the Judges, and the hard measure, &c. Tet as I hope for Pardon at the Hands of my God, I do most becartily pray for and forgive them, &c. Could any thing be said more sweetly, or more modestly? He onely spoke it in Transcursus, and as a Transition to the declaring his Charitable Forgiving of his Enemies. He onely said [be thought] he had received ill Usige, and why might not he think to, when his Lawyers told him the Law did not reach him, there being, onely Presumption, which was incompetent in that Case? Yet this unsharitable Caviller charges him with Cassidence, and want of Common Charity, and employs all his little Fricks of Rhetorick to have it thought he dyed an ill Man, and (which is the worles in of the two) to murther as sai as he could, his Soul, and his Credit as a good Christian, after the Judges and Jury had murthered his Body.

But how does he clear the Jury? He cites my Lord Cohe, p. 29. that the Invent is to be discovered by Circumstances, &c. But does he or any Man say, that those Circumstances must not be evidently connected with the Invention; that is, such as could not have light or could not have been put, had there not been such an Intention? Otherwise the Evidence rises not above Presumption, which that Lawyer declares to be insufficient; and therefore he requires Good and Manifest Proof; and

the Proof of a Man's Intention cannot be faid to be manifest, unless the Overt-act was manifestly connected with it. Was it to here? Aftern clear'd the occasion of his going over to France to have been upon a quite different Account. But the Papers, fays he, were found about bim. What then? Might not another who was in the Company, and who onely was confcious of their Contents, give them to him to keep? Nay, would not that Person who was concerned judge it best in Reason, rather to give them to a Person which was not at all concerned in them, than to another of his own Gang? Certainly he would, Nothing more frequent in Oliver's Days, than for loyal Gentlemen going in Coach, to give such Papers which were Treasonable in those days to the Coachman; or fome Gentlewomen in Company; and must fuch Persons who carried them be concluded guilty of Treason? This Circumstance then of having the Papers found upon him, which were evidently another Man's Concern, as being writ in his hand, was fo far from being manifestly connected with his being concerned in them, or knowing their Contents; that, of the two it rather fignifies the contrary. Besides, this Circumstance is not rightly represented. Had they been found upon him when first search'd, it might have born a sleight Suspition, that he was the Bearer of them; but when he was first forc'd out of the hiding Place, he was fearch'd, and nothing found about him; but going down afterwards to the Hold of the Ship, and finding those Papers left, (which he might suspect my Lord Preston would not have had found,) he put them in his Bosome, with design to throw them over-board, which being observed, they were found there. Well; but he had a mind to have these Papers thrown over-board: What then? Would not any Friend do the fame, if his Friend and Fellow-Traveller, who by leaving his Letters behind him where he lay, had by fo doing fignified, that he would not have them feen, though at the same time he knew nothing of the Contents. Did not Captain Billop at the Tryal declare upon Oath, that Mr. Elliot was much more concerned than he was, and yet no Prefumptive Evidence was grounded thereupon against him, of knowing their Contents? Again, Are there no Secrets, and important Ones too, but Treason? What Man who is versed in the World would have made such a rash Conclusion of his knowing the Contents of the Letters from a Carriage, as was lately thew'd has sometimes, and may often be used in other Occasions, where he that defroys or conceals any Papers of another's, is yet utterly ignorant of what's in them, or what is his Friend's Defign? My felf in the Protector's Days lodged near the Pall-Mall, when a Civil Gentleman came to take a Room in the fame House; it seems he came over to England about King Charles his Bufiness, though he kept it to himself, and never in the least had acquainted me with it; upon a fright he came running from the Yard into the Honfe, and fearing a Search, retired into a fale hiding Place, giving me some Papers (which it feems he would not have found with him) to fecure them if I could, or elfe to burn them. I did not much fear, knowing the Constable; fo I lock'd them in a small Trunk of Mine, and put them under the Beds-head. They fearch'd but found nothing: Here is a Cate parallei exactly, or rather far more obnoxious than was that of Mr. Ashton's,

and more fignificant, that I was privy to the Defign of them. Now I would ask this inconfiderate Jury, whether, had those Papers (which I understood afterwards to be Commissions) been found in my Trunk, they would have brought me in guiley? Doubtless such a Jury as this would have done it; and yet I can fafely be deposed, That I was then utterly ignorant, both of the Business of that Gentleman, and of the Comtents of the Papers. I defire those Gentlemen of the Jury to lay their Hands on their Hearts, and tell us feriously, whether they durch have ventured their own Lives, (could it have been brought to the Tryali,) that Mr. Assemintended to go into France with such a Design? I doubt their Hearts would quail at such a dubious Wager: And could they think fit to take away another Man's Life, and hazard to damn their own Souls too, on an Evidence that they durft not stake their own Lives upon. Let them reflect how often even very preat Likeliboods deceive us every day; nay, fometimes to great, that we should have judged it almost impossible it should have missed; and yet no wife or good Man would venture his Life or his Salvation upon those highest Likelihoods, or think fit to swear the Truth of them; and dare Jurora then hazard to forswear themselves, and to commit Murther in to the Bargain, by bringing in an illegal Verdict, which takes away a Man's Life upon Likelihoods or Presumptions? The Law he confesses requires manifest Proof; What fays this Patron of Injustice to the Law? Yet this Proof (fays he, page 29.) mift fill be fuch as the thing will bear. Let us examine the sense of these Words. Either he means by the Word Thing, a Fact of fuch a Nature as Mr. Asbron's is pretended to be. and that such a Fact, abstractedly speaking, cannot bear a more manifest Proof than this had: Or be means that this individual pretended Fact, as standing under the Circumstances it really had, can bear no better Proof than it did, or be made more manifest. He cannot without extreme Folly mean the former of thefe: For it is evident and confessed here, p. 30. by himself, That had the Papers been produced writ in his own hand, it would have been a plain Proof of his knowing what was in those Papers, (which by the way, is a plain Confession, that (that Proof wanting) there was no plain or manifest Proof at all,) He must mean then, that this Fact, no better circumstanc'd, can bear no better Proof: Which is in less candid Terms to say; We were resolved to hang him, and could have been glad of a plain or manifest Proof, but the Evidence we could get from all the Circumstances, not bearing or affording us fuch a Proof, we were forced to condemn him upon this unmanifest Proof, or elfe (which would have vexed us) we must have acquired him. This is what he would fay, had he the Gift of Ingenuity. Well then, fince there was (as he confelles) no plain or manifest Proof, what Proof will he afford us inftead of it? Why, he tells us, there was sufficient Proof of his Privity to the Contents of those Papers. Sufficient! What does he mean by that indeterminate and infignificant Expression? No Proof is Sufficient by the Law but what is manifest: But he as good as confesses here, that the Proof was not manifest. He can onely mean then by that lukewarm word [fufficient,] that the Proof was fufficient to take away his Life, if fuch Judges and fuch a Jury had the managing of it, who were resolved to facritice their Consciences and Honefty to the Fear or 51. Favour

Favour of Men, and blindly submit them; without Scruple, to the Pleasure of the State.

Next he tells us, there can be no direct and plain Froofs of a fecret bitention. How many Tricks are coucht in these few words? What does the word [direct] here? Did any Man ever pretend he could fee a Soul directly, or receive Impressions from it in a streight Line, as Light and visible Objects come to the bodily Eye? Again: What does the word [fecret] here? Had it not been enough to fay, None can have a plain Proof of an Intention? But to confound the weak Reader, and colour over the Paradox, he must add [secret] to it. Indeed while an Intention is fecret, 'tis undoubtedly fecret; but why can there be no plain Proof of an Intention, making it become not fecret? Certainly the denying this would deftroy all humane Negotiation, in all its maineft Concerns, and make all our chief Actions floating and uncertain; It makes all the Execution of the Law comfortless to the Judges and Jury, and wickedly injurious to the Persons accused; for by this Man's Discourse the former can never tell whether or not they condemn an Innocent, and the latter fees his Life and Honor exposed to Hap-bazard. Tis the Intention, and that onely, which the Law regards, nor is any Action reputed by it to be Felony, Murther, Treason, &c. unless it be done Animo Felonico, &c. with a Felonious Intention, &c. and this Intention, according to him, can never be made plain; so no Man 1ving knows, or can know, who dies deservedly, who innocently. Let him reflect, that all that the Witneffes can do is to attest the Overt-act. or the Words fpoken imprinted on their Senses; but 'tis the Duty of the Judges and Jury, when once they are fatisfied of the Witnesses Integrity, to fee that those Actions are necessarily connected with such an Intention as with its Cause, and proceeded from it; and if they be not fatisfied, but that possibly it might spring from another Cause, they must be judged not to value how pretious a Man's Life is, nor to regard much whether they legally condemn an innocent or no, if they bring him in guilty; and so they incurr the Guilt themselves of eareless Murtherers: Nor do the Judges deferve a better Character, if they fail in the Duty of instructing them, that the Law requires manifest Proof. and that they ought not to proceed upon even high Likelihoods or Prefumptions, which we do experience do often deceive us: But especially if they aggravate and enhance those Likelihoods to make the Jury proceed upon them as Certainties: All which was but too visible in the Charge to this eafily byalt Jury. Did this Gentleman, who demies that Intentions can admit of plain Proof, never hear of those Sayings, That out of the abundance of the Heart the Mouth Speaketh, or that the Tree is known by its Fruit; i.e. a Man's Interiour by his Outward Actions? Can we not know very manifeftly, that if a Man way-lay his Enemy, and out of an Ambush affaults and runs him through, he had an Intention to do him a Mischief? Does not himself confess, that had the Papers been in Mr. Albron's own hand, it had been a plain or manifest Proof of his knowing their Contents; which Knowledge is of its own Nature altogether as fecret as is an Intention: Lattly, Does he not tell us out of my Lord Cole, that no Proof is sufficient but a manifest one; and yet he sets himself to prove, that there can be no plain or

manifest Proof of an Intension, which makes the Law require Impossibilizies? What Stuff is this to be vented by a Man chosen out to support the State, vindicate the Judges, and consute the solid Paper be-

queath'd us by our dying Martyr !

After this he pretends, that, in his Judgment, one of the Papers was writ in the very same Hand in which this Speech was written; that is, It was writ by Mr. Ashton. But he must pardon us if we dare not believe his Judgement, which (as has been abundantly thewn) has scarcely judg'd right in one fingle Line of his whole Book: But how frivolous is this Pretence of his! Had the Judges, or the Managers of the Tryal found the least Ground for such a Suspition, it had been the eafiest thing in the World to have compared that Paper with Hundreds of Accompts, Acquittances, and Letters, which were all feized in his House by Order from the State: Nor could they have wanted Witnesfes to have fworn, that they believed fuch a Paper was writ by him. as well as they did in the Tryal of my Lord Preston, which is a very great Prefumption that they found no fuch Paper under his Hand, or to near refembling it as might induce any to swear it. They found indeed another Paper of his, which more vext them and haltened his Death, than had they found any fuch other as this Gentleman pretends : Concerning which take the Martyr's own Words out of pare of that Paper left by him in a Friend's bands; which are as followeth,

Eleing suddenly to give up my Accounts to the Searcher of all Hearts, I think it a Duty incumbent upon me to impart some Things farther, which neither the Interest nor Iniquity of these Times will, I conclude, willingly bear the publication of, and therefore not fit to

be inferted in the Sheriffs Paper.

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Some time after the Prince of Orange's Arrival here, when it was expected, that, pursuant to his own Declaration, and the King's Letter to the Convention, an exact Search and Enquiry would have been " made into the Birth of the Prince of Wales, there was a Scheme drawn up of that whole Matter, and of the Proofs that were then " (and are ftill) ready to be produced, to prove his Royal Highnels's Legitimacy; but no publick Examination being ever had, and the Violence of the Times, as well as Interest of the present Government, not permitting any private Person to move in it, those Papers have ever fince lain by: But it heing now thought advisable by fome, to have them printed and published, and (as at first they were defigned) addressed, at their next Meeting, to the Lords and Commons, entreating them to enquire into that weighty Affair, and to call forth, examine, and protect (for who elle dares to appear) the many Witnesses to the several Particulars therein offered to be legally proved, Oc.

I was ordered to carry those Papers to the King, my Master, for his view, that his Leave and Approbation might go along with the Defires of his good Subjects here; and they being taken with me, with some other Papers of Accounts, &c. in a small Trunck, amongst my Linea, and other private Things of my own, and not in the Packet, (my Lord Preson being altogether a stranger to the whole

proceeding,) by this means fell into the hands of our prefent Governours; who, though they wifely waved the producing them as Evidence at my Tryal, yet have I just Reason to believe my greatest Crimes were contained in them; and I do therefore conclude and hope, that I only am defigned to be facrificed, who only knew of them: Nor am I surprised at it, fince nothing, I think, can be more prejudical to some Persons present Interest, than the exposing of those Papers to the Publick, which will fet that pretended Myftery of Darknels in to clear a Light, that all Mankind must be convinced of his Highnels's being Born of the Queen, and of their Wickednels, who have malitiously and defignedly afferted that innocent Prince to be an Impostor. The Love and Compassion that I have for my native Countrey, as well as Charity, obliges me humbly to implore Almighty God to be merciful to it, and not to charge this great Sin to the publick Account, and that we may not farther provoke his Justice by our wilfully continuing in Errour and Miftake, I beleech him to put it into the Hearts of the Lords, &c. at their next Meeting, to examine into that whole Matter, and (if before that time this be published) to enquire after, call for, and, if possible, retrieve those Papers that were taken with me; whereby the Obstinate will most certainly be convinced, the Ignorant informed, the Doubtful confirmed. the Eyes of all opened, and a facred most important Truth made apparent to the whole World.]

And may we not now with good Reason challenge those of the other Party to give an Answer to those Papers, which were the true occafion of his Suffering; and in behalf of Justice, Truth, and the good of the Nation, to demand that the faid Papers, which are now triffed, may be produced, and (if possible) consuted: For fince never greater fedulity was used by any other to fet that Bufiness in a manifeft Light; the Answering them must consequently be the furest Means to keep the Nation from being imposed upon in fo weighty a Matter, And if this be not done, Will not all fincere Persons conclude hence. that the Proofs of the Prince of Wales's Legitimacy, contained in those Papers of Mr. Aftern, are even in the Opinion of our Statists theinselves, absolutely imanswerable, and all England be convinced that the Pretence of his being Supposititious, was let up for no other End but to bring, by that deteftable Forgery, the King and Queen into Odium and Difgrace, and to make way for the Prince of Orange to seize on his. Crown and reflect, that from this one villar ous Cheat, all the Calamities that have befallen our deluded Nation, have had their true Source and Origin. I know the Observator upon Mr. Ashien's Papers denies there were any fuch; but could it be done with our Security, we do undertake to prove Circumftantially, that they were in his Trunck when taken by the Government's Order; and farther that we will clear that whole Matter, far more fully than has been done hitherto, by many other Witnelles of unqueftionable Credit, and by most convincing Proofs; and to fatisfie all I terrogatories that can be effered by the most inquisitive Scrupler. But to return to our Juries; What matters it what was brought to light about those Papers after wards? The Queflion

Question is, what Evidence the Jury then had, when they brought in their lawles Verdict: If they had at that eithe no finth Evidence as the Law requires; i.e. if they had then no manifest Proof, he died finnocent in the Eye of the Law; and nothing can acquit his Condetinest from being, according to the same Law, and God's Law too, unconficentious Marderers. And 'tis of this kind of Innocence only the Marty speaks, when he declares himself innocent; about which P. flage this Gentleman, who can neither understand another Man, nor many times himself very well, is very Gay and Pleasant: Though, 'tis true, the Martyr by owning his Daty to his lawful Sovereign, does withall, by consequence profes, that, though he had been legally convicted of an intension to reftore him, and of assing too, in order to that good End, he had not withit anding been Innocent also before God.

The Refult of all the whole foregoing Discourse is this, That our blessed Martyr is clearly vindicated from any Freasonable Gaits, and proved to have died doubly Innovem; in the fight of Heaven, in dying for his Allegiance, which provok'd this unreasonable Malice against him; and in the Eye of the Law, by being adjudg'd to die without enastiest Proof, or legal Evidence. May his Noble Christian Fortitude, and his Pious Example, so influence his Prevaricating Breibren, that they may repent them of their Perjury and Rebellion, imitate his Conflain Loyally, and be partakers of that Eternal Crown of Glory which he now enjoys, for undauntedly owning, and even to Death persevering in his Duty of Allegiance to his only Lawful, and only Rightful Sovereign.

An Humble Petition to the Present Government.

Cince Nature does generally encline every Man to avoid his own Ruine, and to do that which is apparently best for his own worldly Interest and Conveniency; it cannot in common Reason and Prudence be imagined, but that the generality of those, who do adhere to King 3AMES his Title, would be glad to live at Eafe, and out of Danger, by fubmitting freely to the prefent Government, did not some Confideration that is of a Superior Nature, and concerns their well-being in another World, over-awe them and deter their from owning it. Wherefore as we who write this, do in our Names, fo we justly prefume we may in the Names of those others, protest in the prefence of Almighty God, who fees their Hearts, that our refuling to take the Oath, and pay a voluntary Allegiance to the present Governours, does not fpring from any inclination to Faction, nor from Obstinacy, nor yet from any Disaffection to their Persons; but purely from this, That we cannot be fatisfied, either by our own Realon, or any Thing that has been hitherto writ upon that Subject, that they have any Title to the Crown, either by the Law of God of Man; but, on the contrary, that both Divine and Humane Laws are against their Wrelting it, by a Trick, out of the Hands of their Father, who was the individued rightful Owner of it; and that their ftill Poffeffing and Decaming it from him, is no less against the same Laws, and confequently a doubly unjust Usurparion: And therefore our Conscience tells

That we shall incorr the just Indignation of Almighty God; and withal, become Obnoxious, by our English Laws, to the Punishments due to Trastors, thould we yield to fuch illegal Compliances. Wherefore we humbly Petition, That for fatisfaction to our Consciences, our Governours would please to give Order, that some grave and learned Man may compile a Treatife, shewing their true Title to the Crown, and manifesting how King James's legal Title, by Succession, comes to be annull'd: And let him evince these Two main Points from any folid Principles, of what nature foever, acknowledg'd for fuch by the indifferent part of the World; and so that it may appear by their giving Authority to that Treatife, by fuch their Order, that that is the erue Ground of their Claim, and the Title they will fland by. Those who have writ in Justification of their Government, are in so many Minds about the Ground of their pretended Right, that inflead of clearing it they have, by their Difagreement, fatisfied all understanding Men, that 'tis very obscure, even to their own-Party; whereas yet it ought to be of it felf, or elfe be made mott Evident, e'er it can in any Reason be held able to overthrow a Tenure fo incontestibly Evident and Legal, as was that of King James, it being built on a long continued Hereditary Succession, abetted by the most Fundamental Laws of the Land, and approved by the universal acknowledgement of the whole World. We humbly request then to be inform'd which of those many Grounds, advanc'd by their Writers, themselves will think fit to make choice of, and esteem thus Evident, which we have not hitherto any Light to guess at. Their Carriage by carrelling and advancing Dr. Sherlock, feems to hint that they most approve of his new Notion; but that Flath of his has been so perfectly and so manifoldly baffled, and laid flat beyond all possibility of setting it up again, or supporting it, that (next to the Abdication Title) no Tenet in the World was ever fo notoriously convicted of Folly and Inconfiftency. We are told that Mr. Johnson is about publishing formething upon that Subject, with a difclaim of any other Title but that he is letting up: But as we are well affored that the Principles that Gentleman will proceed upon, (however he may pretend to wreft our Laws to his Fancy,) are purely Commonwealthiffs, and no left confident that our Governours will never think it Honourable for them to own fuch a precurious Authority; fo we cannot think it fafe in Confcience for us to acquiesce in fuch a Title, which they themselves will not think sit to acknowledge and abide by.

This Request is for another Regard the more Reasonable, because the granting it is clearly the best for the Interest even of our Governous themselves: For nothing can be more Prevalent to unite all England in a hearty Subjection to their Government, than the making out Evidently, and Inconfutably (in Case they judge it seeble!) upon what Ground we may justly hold the former Prince's rightful Fitle is Exzinguished, and their own rightfully Introduced and Established. Noc can any Thing more acquit them from the heavy Imputation of Canelty and Murder, (which Odium they will otherwise licender,) than will show may their Right to be thus Evident: I say Evident; for plain Reason very feasibly informs every houest Christian, that a Title which was never doubted or controverted, nor had the least flaw in it, by any one pro-

tender in the whole World, ought not to be held abolished by a Title which is conservered and dubious; and also that Osebs of Allegiance ought not to be form to those whole Right to our Allegiance is doubtful and uncertain. Wherefore let them but take away this doubtful of the problem of their Title Clear and Evident; and then the Jame Reason which makes as yet retain our Allegiance to King James, will oblige us in Conscience to become Faithful and Obedient Subjects to the Prince and Princes of Orange; and will shew, moreover, that we enjoy under them a State of Liberty and Reason, and are not purely under the flat

wifb Condition of Force and Fear.

The granting then this Humble Petition of ours being every way to Reasonable and Advantagious to their own Honour, and Intereft; fo fatisfactory to those who have Scraples, which hinder their Complying; fo agreeable to the Prince of Orange's Declaration, which promises not to perfecute for Conscience take; fo conducive to the Peace and Union of the Kingdom in general; and, laftly, so necessary to clear the Honour of all their own Party, now lying under the Scandal of Complying they know not why, and of Sacrificing their Confciences to fervile Fear or base Incerest: If this be refused by the State, and yet Oaths be still pres'd upon the facobices, and they be ftill Perfecuted, Imprisoned! and put to Death, for performing their conscientions Daties to hims whom they cannot but judge as yet to be their rightful Prince, then they do call Heaven and Earth to witness that they fuffer for Confoience fake; and that the pretended Governours are resolved to ruine them, for no other Reafon but that they will not, to fecond and pohold their unaccountable Authority, b. eak God's holy Commands, and our own Laws; which all good Christians and true Englishmen are bound to observe.

On the other fide, their not yielding to this Humble Request, cannot but redound highly to their Dishonour; for all thinking Men will easily make this Inference from their refusal, that either they do not judge they have any Title at all, which will bear the Test, or which they will sand to 5. or else, that they are most cruel and most unchristian Persecuters: While, on the one hand, they refuse, when humbly Supplicated; to take Order to give satisfaction to Men's Consciences, in a Cité which the many Controverses about it, and the sormer long sevied and legal Title shows to be satisfaction to Men's Consciences, in a Cité which the shows to be satisfaction to Men's Consciences, in a Cité which the shows to be satisfaction to many and on the other side, they go on to punish and put Men to Death, who are desirent to be satisfact, merely for acting according to their Consciences; which those Men themselves are not able to satisfie, that they ought to submit voluntarily to the Present Government; and those who should be most able to most refuse them that Christian Charity.

In a word, Let the Prefent Governours either fairfie our Confciences, or leave off to perfecure us for being Confciencious; or, elfe (which is easy left) let them speak out, and tell the World in plais Terms, what this refusal of theirs will sufficiently intimate, that they will do neither; but that they are resolved we shall be praished as Traisors, if we will not be Knaves; and that they will only allow us this sad Choice, to be other Hang d or Dannid.

FINIS.

